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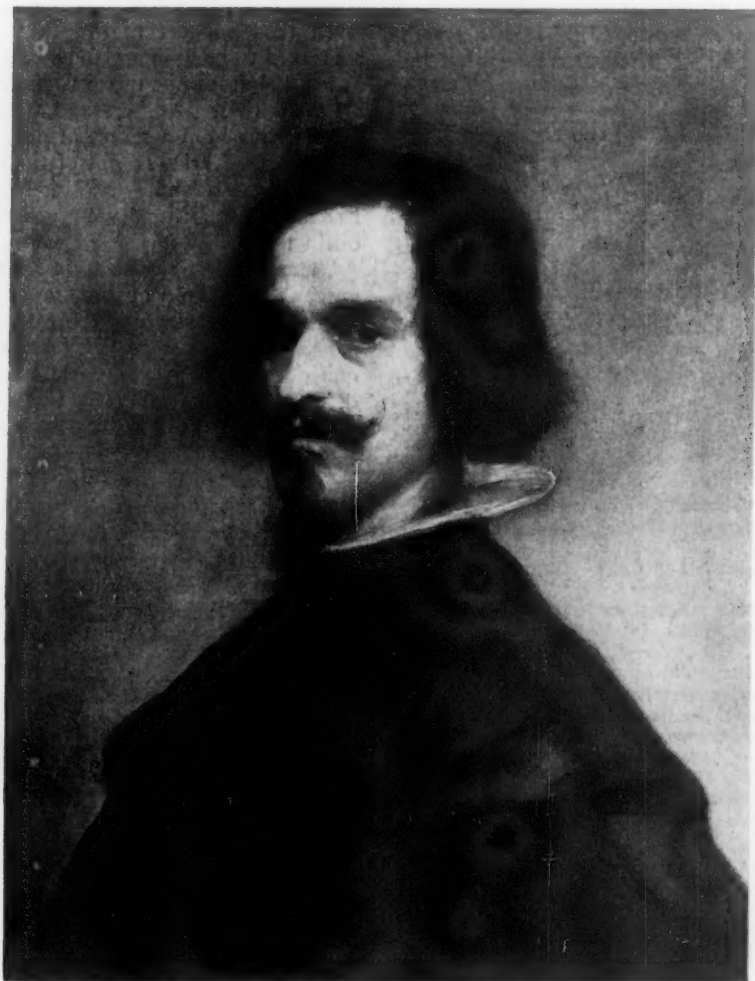
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BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

VOLUME XXIII

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PORTRAIT OF VELAZQUEZ BY HIMSELF

FEBRUARY ISSUE IN TWO SECTIONS
SECTION I

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

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REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 1927

The opening and closing paragraphs of the Annual Report of the Trustees for 1927, presented to the Corporation at its annual meeting on January 16, are quoted here:

"The past year has been a quiet one compared with the unusual activities of the preceding year, which saw the opening of two additional sections of the Museum. The number of visitors at the main building, though falling slightly below that of last year, specially attracted by interest in the new wing (K), has continued gratifyingly large, 1,209,176; and at The Cloisters it has reached an unexpected total of 38,545. The number of Members who have given their support to the Trustees has continued to grow in a manner as pleasing as it is helpful; while the gifts of objects of art from these Members and from other friends have been a source of deep appreciation. Mr. Harkness' gift of the Carnarvon Collection and Mr. Macy's gift of Renaissance maiolica have given the year distinction.

"The objects added to the collections by purchase have been numerous and of high quality, notwithstanding the fact that the income from funds provided for such acquisitions has been heavily drawn upon to defray the deficit in the cost of maintenance—the largest deficit in the history of the Museum.

"The story of the year just ended is one in which activity stands out most prominently. The process of spreading out, which has affected all of the departments, is shown not alone in the increase of the collections and the arrangement of them, but in many other ways, like the program for publication and the further development of educational and practical advantages. These are things that show the effective performance of the Museum functions, what the Director of the British Museum in a recent address has termed 'the ideal of stimulating life in its great departments of beauty and human achievement. . . .'

"No one, however, should infer from this report of continued advance along established lines that the Museum has not pressing needs. It sorely needs additional funds for administration. Nothing but generous money gifts from our Trustees, who are freely giving invaluable service, has enabled the Museum during the past year to meet its actual operating expenses. And this, too, after applying to such expenses

every dollar which could be lawfully diverted from the income of funds originally devoted to the purchase of objects of art.

"Increased administration expenses over those of the past year are called for by the budget which the Trustees have adopted for the coming year. The Museum also imperatively needs an extension of its present buildings to provide particularly for small exhibition galleries, for study rooms, work rooms, store rooms, offices, and other administration facilities. The present Museum buildings were planned and constructed without reference to these needs, which have developed largely since these buildings were erected and which have become pressing as the sphere of Museum activities has been enlarged.

"These needs are now urgent and call for an extension of the present north wing of the Museum on Fifth Avenue, westward. An application to the City for such an extension has been made and is now under consideration by the City authorities."

SPANISH PAINTINGS FROM EL GRECO TO GOYA

The loan exhibition of Spanish paintings from El Greco to Goya, on view in Gallery D6 through April 1, consists of sixty-seven works, thirteen by El Greco, six by Ribera, four by Zurbaran, seven by Velazquez, seven by Murillo, two by del Mazo, one each by Herrera, Luis Tristan, Legote, Cano, Collantes, Pantoja de la Cruz, and twenty-two by Goya. From this list it will be seen that the museums and collectors have responded to our solicitations with their customary generosity and public spirit. To them we make our grateful acknowledgments in behalf of those who will visit our exhibition. We particularly wish to record our gratitude to the Toledo Museum of Art, whose arrangements for a loan exhibition of Goya coinciding in time with our show were well under way when our requests for loans appeared. On hearing that our dates were impossible of change the Toledo Museum postponed their exhibition and waived the promises of loans which they had already received. To this action of theirs we owe the

possibility of the present remarkable display of Goyas.

Of all Spanish artists El Greco and Goya are the best represented in our country. Both appeal particularly to our tastes and by good chance their works happen to have been procurable, at least up to recently. The recognition of the genius of El Greco in modern times is a matter of little more than a generation. Before their artistic value was fully appreciated, capital works by him—the results of commissions of the utmost importance—were secured by his admirers in this country. Thus the Assumption of the Virgin painted for the high altar of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo, was acquired by the Chicago Art Institute and Saint Martin and the Beggar, from the Chapel of San José, Toledo, found its way into the Widener Collection. Such pictures, today would not be allowed to leave Spain.

In addition to these many of the sketches for the decorations and altarpieces—finished pictures in fact, which it was his custom to execute before commencing the final work—have been brought here, and some of these we are enabled to show. Mr. Mellon's Saint Ildefonso of Toledo and J. Horace Harding's Apparition of the Virgin to Saint Dominic are of this class. The same scrupulousness which led the artist, in his search for perfection, to make careful preliminary studies accounts for the many replicas, with slight changes, of his well-known compositions. Two examples of the many pictures existing which show the money-changers driven from the temple are in our exhibition; one, the earliest of El Greco's pictures here shown, lent by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, was painted before his arrival in Spain; the other, a good deal later, comes from Mr. Aaron Naumburg. The Agony in the Garden belonging to Arthur and Alice Sachs is one of several similar compositions and Mr. Blumenthal's Adoration of the Shepherds is a variant of a composition which also exists in the picture owned by this Museum, which is on exhibition in its usual place in Gallery 29—as the Spanish pictures of the Museum collection have not been called on for this exhibition, with the exception of a Murillo.

In Greco's portraits executed as such



SAINT ILDEFONSO OF TOLEDO BY EL GRECO



DON ANDRES DE ANDRADE Y COL BY MURILLO

and his pictures of saints, which are practically portraits though he gives to these figures the intense and rapt expression which all his religious pictures contain, our exhibition is unusually rich. He painted at the time of Philip II, of Saint Teresa and Cervantes, let it be recalled, and one fancies that mysticism and intensity must have been the prevailing state of mind. Racial reminiscences may also be detected in these portraits and saintly figures—something of the ferociousness of Byzantine mosaics and the ascetic types and ashen color of the frescoes of Christian Greece. But such traits accorded with sixteenth-century Spain, and Greco's pictures manifest to us that time and country as none others do.

The large number of Goyas in America can also be explained although as many as ninety-seven of his pictures are concentrated in the Prado. He is the newest of the Old Masters, this present year, 1928, being the centenary of his death. His works have not been subjected to the dissolutions and vicissitudes of great age, and during his long career of sixty years and more he produced incredibly. The fact that great numbers of his portraits were until lately privately owned in Spain, in most cases by the descendants of those whom he painted, made possible their exportation. All of his pictures in our exhibition are portraits with the exception of the six spirited little panels of the Capture of the Brigand Margaroto by the Monk Pedro de Zaldivia, which Mr. Ryerson lends, and Arthur and Alice Sachs's brilliant canvas representing a bull fight. The portraits show excellently Goya's great talent in this important branch.

Velazquez is the most coveted and the most difficult to procure of all Spanish painters. It has been said of him that as regards craftsmanship he was the greatest painter the world has ever seen. As he was court painter, practically all of the pictures he executed from the time that position was conferred on him belong to the Spanish Crown. The Prado contains fifty pictures by him and in even the foremost museums abroad, excepting the Prado, his representation is very fragmentary. Nevertheless the zeal of our collectors has managed to procure several examples of his art. Pictures in

his fully developed style are today very rarely to be found on the market.

It was only last year, however, that Mr. Epstein acquired the Isabella of Bourbon, a picture painted probably in the artist's thirty-second year and consequently at the beginning of his fully developed style. This picture is considered by many excellent judges to be the original from which the picture in the Vienna Gallery is copied. There has been general agreement for many years that the Vienna picture could not be entirely by Velazquez. Mr. Bache's Self-Portrait, a practically unknown work, shows Velazquez at about the age of thirty-five. Mrs. Emery's Philip IV, which shows the sitter in middle age, comes in at a somewhat later period. It will be remembered that Velazquez was six years older than his royal patron. Mr. Willys' Head of a Girl would date as a work of his late years. These then are examples of the rare late style. Mr. Blaker's Saint Matthew shows the artist at the beginning of his career and can be compared with the head, The Cripple, by his first teacher, Herrera, which is lent by the Worcester Museum. Mr. Morgan's portrait of Maria Teresa is a picture which may have been one of those sent to the French court as a preliminary to the marriage of the sitter to Louis XIV. Some authorities consider this not to be by Velazquez but a masterpiece by del Mazo, his son-in-law and favorite pupil.

The foremost position among Spanish painters now accorded to Velazquez was formerly held by Murillo. His fame throughout Europe dated from the Napoleonic wars when, through the activities of Marshal Soult and the French generals, his works became generally known, and lasted up to the time of Manet and the Impressionists. There were no American collectors to speak of in the days of his fame and when our collectors appeared Murillo was demoded. Nevertheless, several of his pictures here shown form a group of outstanding importance in our collection. Among them is a celebrated and historical work which was owned and brought to this country by the distinguished connoisseur, Charles B. Curtis, whose book on Velazquez and Murillo with catalogues of their



GENERAL NICHOLAS GUYE BY GOYA

works, published in 1883, remained for a generation the standard work on these artists. This painting of Saint Diego of Alcalá surprised by his Superior has been publicly exhibited only once, in this Museum in 1887-88, since the time it was taken from its original place in the Franciscan convent at Seville. There, with ten others of a series, it served to establish the reputation of the young artist and filled the convent at the time with artistic and critical visitors. This series of decorations was Murillo's first commission of importance and is regarded as among his most meritorious productions. Seven were carried away by the French, among them the celebrated *Cuisine des Anges* of the Louvre.

From the collection of the late Mrs. Thomas J. Emery comes another Murillo of prime importance, the Young Saint Thomas of Villanueva distributing his garments among the beggar boys—a marvelous work, according to Dr. Mayer the most beautiful genre picture Murillo ever painted.

Particular attention is called to the Murillo, Don Andres de Andrade, a recent purchase by this Museum shown for the first time in this exhibition. By pretty general consent it is the best of Murillo's portraits. An old and good copy of our picture is in the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid. The sitter was the *Pertigero* or Marshal of the processions in the Cathedral of Seville. He is a typical Spanish hidalgo clothed all in black except for his white collar and white stockings, with black plumed hat, black bushy hair, and whiskers. His hand rests on the head of a white and brown mastiff. On a pedestal his name is printed Dⁿ Andres de Andrade y la Col, and above is his coat of arms.

The picture has a complete and interesting pedigree. It remained in the family of the sitter for a long time and was bought about 1825 by J. M. Brackenbury, the English consul at Cadiz, for about £400. A dispute over a fee arose between the buyer and the broker who had managed the transaction, whereupon the broker gave information to the authorities and the ancient law against the exportation of works of art was invoked. But the English consul was resourceful. A poor copy of the picture

was picked up and leave was obtained to compare it with the original. And then of course the copy was substituted for the original, which was smuggled out of the country.

Brackenbury then offered the painting to the British Government for £500 but the offer was declined. It was sold to King Louis Philippe, who was making a collection of Spanish pictures, and was exhibited with them in the Louvre. At the sale of the Louis Philippe Collection in 1853 it was bought by Thomas Baring for £1,020 "amid the cheers of the audience." It belonged to the Baring family, the Earls of Northbrook, up to last summer. Sir David Wilkie, the eminent painter, speaks of this work in his journal. He writes at Seville in 1828 "Brackenbury's Murillo—The Man with the dog, is also in the gallery. This I saw in the linendraper's house [Antonio Brava, a famous collector] in Seville and the expression of the head strikes me as much now as it did then. It seems to see you while you look at it."

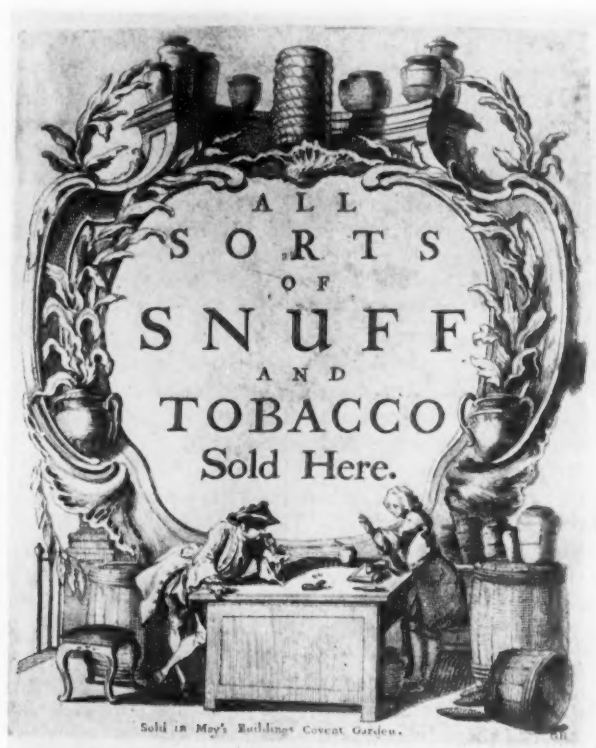
Another Murillo, which also belonged to the Northbrook Collection—The Immaculate Conception, the artist's favorite and most famous subject—is lent to our exhibition by Mr. Hutchings. And the visitor should not miss the silvery and poetic little picture belonging to Eugen Boross, one of his rare landscapes, with smallish figures representing Jacob and Rachel.

Other paintings cannot be commented upon owing to the restricted length of this notice, but all will be found to repay careful examination. The organizers of the exhibition would have wished to include also works, perhaps of less merit, by less known painters whose products had bearing on the formation of the masters, but such works, if they exist in American private collections, are unknown to us. The connoisseurship and the wise policy of the directors of the Hispanic Society have managed to gather in their galleries at 156th Street, in addition to the masterpieces, a number of works of this historical interest in the evolution of Spanish art. Visits to the galleries of the Hispanic Society and to our loan exhibition can give the student and the amateur a very fair idea of the progress of Spanish painting. BRYSON BURROUGHS.

A COLLECTION OF ENGLISH
TRADE-CARDS

Mrs. Morris Hawkes has most generously given to the Print Room the collection of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English trade-cards formerly in the possession of A. M. Broadley, and later in that

sort of thing, and to spend your lives measuring and mounting and numbering and stamping and running down descriptions and numbers in the catalogues, and seeking out the passages in the Jahrbuecher and the reportoria where the learned and the judicious (and sometimes others as well) have made their contributions to the clarifying



AN ENGLISH XVIII CENTURY TRADE-CARD

of the Lord Leverhulme—which is the correct and official way of saying it. Another way, wholly unofficial but much more truthful, is that Mrs. Hawkes has given to some of us in the Print Room more pure pleasure and amusement than we can remember having had in a very long time and that we stand in a row and curtsy and bob our most delighted thanks to her. Now if only people knew what it means to be shut up with “masterpieces,” and “historically-most-important,” and “states,” and “qualities,” and attributions, and all that

and the thickening of knowledge—well, if only people did know about those things, and really, even if they don’t, then they should understand why we pull our forelocks to Mrs. Hawkes. Her collection comes straight out of the background against which all the letter writers and novelists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did their work, and brings with it to the poor cataloguers a breath of fresh air and adventure and gallantry and human foolishness, and, most precious of all, an awakening of dulled memories. Here we can

do window shopping in the London of Amelia and Yorick and Fathom and Evelina and Becky and Samivel. These are the windows through which peered the members of The Club and the sights and sounds that met their eyes and ears. When Gray came up to town, or Gilbert White, these are the things they looked and marveled at. And we—poor provincials of another age—we do the same. As we turn the pages of Mrs. Hawkes's enchanting books we also come to town, and we gape and stare and laugh and count the pennies in our pockets. Then the doorbell rings and back we come, for Mr. Smith would like to tell us that the label on a print is wrong or the Misses Jones desire a pattern for embroidery. But—we have had our fling, we too have been to town, and when we can we are going to show our friendly visitors the way to follow in our steps.

There they stand, the London tradesmen of the living past, both great and glorious and small and mean, their wares extended for our view. Their cards are ordered by their callings—their goods are fresh and new and fashionable. Perruquiers and stationers, jewelers and saddlers, coach-makers and linen-drapers, tailors and cabinet-makers, cheesemongers and ship-chandlers, bookdealers and artists colourmen, and many, many more, including some whose wares and callings come strangely to our modern ears. Mr. George Nixon was a "haberdasher of hats," but was also a sword-cutler and hosier, and accompanies his announcement with delicately engraved pictures of his wares. Abraham Easley, within a fine Chippendale border and below a vignette containing an asinine family scene, announces "Asses Milk to be Sold Also fine Red-Cows Milk & Goats Milk to be Sold Also Asses Bought & Sold, or Lett to Milk, in Town or Country, where Gentlemen & Ladies may be serv'd in the best manner, at their own Houses, any hour in the Day, at a very Reasonable Rate." Peter Sharp, Chymist and Druggist at the Red Cross without Bishopsgate, "Sells all sorts of Chymicals, Galenicals, & Druggs, Coffee, Teas, Chocolate, and Snuffs; Likewise Fresh Spaw and Pyrmont Waters." A certain James Triggs, who was a chimney

sweeper, "Cleans Foul Chimneys in the best Manner, having always clean Cloths for the Upper Apartments, and carefully attends with the Boys. Likewise cleans Smoke-Jacks and Smoky Coppers, and expeditiously extinguishes Chimneys when on Fire with the greatest care and Safety." Rone, who needed no baptismal name for distinction, and was "from Dublin, Living near St Georges Church Southwark Has a large Quantity of fine Genuine Green & Saffron Colour'd Usquebaugh, Citron Water, Ratafia & several other fine Cordials." George Farr was a grocer at the Bee Hive and Three Sugar Loaves who sold "all Sorts of Fine Teas, Coffee, Chocolate, Sago Best Spanish, Scotch, Rappee and Portugal Snuffs, Finest Blues & Starch, with all other Groceries. Fine Old Rum, Coniac Brandy, Batavia Arrack neat as Imported, at the Lowest Prices." J. Burgess, who had an "Italian Long Live The King And Oil Warehouse," among other things "begs to inform Noblemen and Gentlemen's Families, he has imported a large Cargo of New Lucca and Florence Oil, and assures them the Quality is so excellent, as to please the nicest Palate, it having not the least taste or smell." He also has "Capers of the best quality, and such as will keep. . . . Best American Spruce Beer, highly up, at 3 s. 6 d. per dozen. . . . Bologna Sausages, with and without Garlick. . . . Jordan Almonds. . . . and Sour Crout." "Adam Greenway Massier at the Sun in old Round Court over against the New Exchange in ye Strand Selleth all sorts of Silkes and Alamods Stufes Shalunes Plushes Calomincoes Camlets and Sarges Drugets and all sortes of Massiery Goods at Reasonable Rates." There are academies, and many of them, at which young gentlemen are "genteelly Boarded and carefully Instructed." At one the washing is explicitly stated to be at the rate of 10/6 per Quarter (one speculates, was it really so much cheaper then—and then one decides not to follow up the question). At another "Each Young Gentleman to bring a Silver Table Spoon, Knife, Fork and Six Towels, Which remain at the School." And so they go, offering and extolling their wares and their services—and all in the most genteel

of manners as fitting for those who hope to attract the attention of nobility and gentry.

The richness of the eighteenth-century *ex libris* as source of design has been many times set forth, but it may be doubted whether the book-plate, with its more or less obvious restrictions, is really comparable to the trade-card in this respect. These

tools and utensils, and men and women going about the little businesses of life, which were so familiar and so intimate that it never occurred to any one seriously to make record of them. Thus from ever so many points of view these little trade-cards with their pictures and ornamentation provide the material for a gloss upon life as it



AN ENGLISH XVIII CENTURY TRADE-CARD

"bills" abound in the most charming and graceful of cartouches, and have woven into their design an incredible number of the objects and trades and callings of ordinary life. Purely as illustrative matter they are in their way priceless documents concerning the life and manners of their period, for they contain pictures of a very great many things which rarely if ever made their appearance in the pages of books or the prints which were made for purposes of framing and decoration. We see interiors of shops of all kinds, an infinite number of

was actually lived in London, from 1750 to the end of the Napoleonic period, which it would be difficult if not impossible to draw from any other sources.

The collection is mounted in three large scrapbooks, in which it is arranged alphabetically under the trades of the issuers of the cards. Thus, while impossible to put on exhibition, mounted in the traditional print room manner, it is available in the study room in a form of the greatest simplicity and ease for that use which it is hoped it will receive. WILLIAM M. IVINS, JR.

interest—far different from the psychological manner of the somewhat later Amphiaros vase in Berlin.⁶

The composition is that of a frieze, the heads of all the persons being brought to the same level, at the expense of having to make the two principals, who are standing in the chariot, far shorter than the rest. At one point the artist has shown six figures, namely, the four horses, the charioteer, and

horse. If white was applied, as is usual, no trace of it remains here or elsewhere on the vase. The chitones of four of the persons are figured, the remaining four are covered with a thin wash of the black glaze, which has adhered better than the thicker washes, and has turned a bright yellow. The figure of Hippon (?), where the paint is preserved on the original, illustrates the difference between the heavy black of the arm and the



FIG. 2. CORINTHIAN KRATER, EARLY VI CENTURY B.C.
VIEW OF THE BACK, SHOWING A PROCESSION OF MOUNTED
WARRIORS AND A FRIEZE OF LIONESSES AND
GRAZING GOATS

his companion, one behind the other, by simply superposing their silhouettes, and has done this without loss of decorative effect. The background is the light yellow of the clay itself, the drawing in lustrous black glaze, which turns readily at the edges to brown and yellow. Matt red is applied over the black, on the himatia of all the figures, and for decorative effect on the horses and on the men's faces. The women's faces are drawn in outline, as is the near

⁶Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, pls. 121-122.

thinner, yellow glaze of the chiton from which it emerges.⁷ The comparatively squat shape and the style of the drawing—for example, the attenuated bodies and legs of the horses—place our krater early in the series, i. e., near the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

CHRISTINE ALEXANDER.

⁷The reconstructed drawing (fig. 1) is by Lindsley F. Hall, of the Museum staff. Light gray has been used to indicate red, darker gray for the yellow wash. Incised lines are left in background color, except where they touch the background itself, where they are picked out in white to make them visible.

A STATE PARTISAN OF
MAURICE OF NASSAU

Writing almost four decades ago, Colonel Robert, at that time Curator of the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris, noted that the best method of mastering the various types of

historical specimens to our series. From the time of the Riggs Donation, fifteen years ago, less than a dozen historical "halberds" have been added, and of these the most recently acquired specimen is the most noteworthy. For one thing, it is the only partisan known to the writer which bears a



FIG. 1. DRAWING SHOWING COSTUME OF STATE GUARD
OF MAURICE OF NASSAU

shafted weapons was to make a comparative study of the eight hundred odd European specimens under his charge, also of polearms in the Riggs Collection, which, he took care to note, are superior to those in the French National Collection from the viewpoints of richness and variety of form. The Riggs Collection is supplemented by the splendid polearms acquired from the Duc de Dino, a fact which explains why it is no easy matter to add either types or

definitely identified portrait. Like many of the world's art treasures it was made for a person occupying public position. There is all the difference between a thing made for use in the every-day life of ordinary persons and a thing made to celebrate some important event or to preserve the memory of some estimable personage. This point is well illustrated in the Museum's collection of arms and armor where objects of purely utilitarian value, which are of "regulation"

type, may be compared with masterpieces in metalwork. Among the latter may now be recorded the state partisan of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1567-1625)¹—whom the Chevalier Folard pronounced to be the greatest infantry general that had appeared since the time of the Romans.

We can imagine Prince Maurice reviewing his troops, for his black half-armor—a fighting harness—is actually in the Ambras Collection. His guards wore splendid costumes which on at least one occasion excited the profound astonishment of the French, who exclaimed that every soldier seemed a captain! Just what this costume was we know accurately, even to the details of the colors (fig. 1). For in our departmental archives there is one of the few copies, with colored plates, of Jacob de Gheyn's "Exercise of armes for calivres, muskettes and pikes. . .," which is dedicated to Prince Maurice, whose new principles are illustrated. These drawings accurately portray the whole costume and equipment of the soldier of the period, as the author tells us in the preface, and the pikemen are all similarly armed, "for no other reason than to represent the right manner and fashion of the arming of his Exces. owne Garde as it is at this time." In fact we are further aided in more clearly visualizing the Prince's guards, for in our gallery are exhibited two splendid English pikeman's harnesses (Cases 41 and 42) similar to those illustrated in de Gheyn's volume. The fact that they are English and not Dutch matters little, for

¹Exhibited this month in the Room of Recent Accessions, then in Gallery H 9.

many Englishmen of a military turn of mind, finding no scope for their predilection at home, took service under the young Prince Stadtholder, and it is said that de Gheyn's book was published originally in English out of compliment to the British levies whose services had so greatly aided the United Provinces in their struggle for liberty.

A colored picture book has diverted our attention, but we must now come back to our partisan. The blade, which is of the usual form, is enriched everywhere with an etched, parcel-gilt design of delicate foliations, trophies, grotesque animals and masks, grouped within lobate areas, bounded by narrow strapwork. On one face at the base is etched the portrait of Maurice of Nassau (fig. 2) in an elliptical medallion the frame of which bears this legend: MAVRITIVS . AVR . PRINC . COM . NASS . MVRS . MARC . VERAE . ET . VL . B . P . The reverse side is similar in design, but instead of repeating the portrait there are etched in an oval the Prince's heraldic arms with a background of foliation suggesting a genealogical tree. At the junction of blade and socket is a flattened globose knob with discoidal ornaments at base and apex; near the mouth of the tubular haft socket on either side is a rosette with embossed eight-pointed star of latten. Below the socket is a tassel of green and orange silk thread which is secured by rosettes similar to those just mentioned. The haft, which is ancient, is apparently of ash. The upper fourth is bound in a

reticulate pattern with a leather thong held in place by half-round latten nails. The remainder of the haft is splendidly carved in



FIG. 2. PARTISAN BEARING PORTRAIT OF MAURICE OF NASSAU

a scale pattern. The Dutch at this period were skilful wood-carvers, as bears witness a recently acquired dagger sheath of boxwood carved with biblical scenes. While there are many polearms in our collection which retain their original shafts, there are but few which in quality rank with the present specimen, and it is also good to note that the shaft is complete, for even in national collections many ancient shafts have been shortened in order to arrange a panoply more conveniently.

Originally there must have been at least a score of these partisans, but their present rarity should be emphasized. An exhaustive search was made of the illustrated folios of national collections and other sources, and no corresponding specimen of this historical weapon has been found. Should no other example be traced, it would be as rare as the *Guisarme-Vouge*, engraved and gilded with the fire steels of Burgundy and initial K (*Karolus*), which was carried by the guard of Charles the Bold and taken as booty by the Swiss at the Battle of Morat in 1476. This brings to mind the dynastic accidents that linked the affairs of the Netherlands with Burgundy and which finally made their overlordship the inheritance of the Emperor Charles V, whose policy started the Netherlands War. Had we but the necessary space, it would be interesting to describe the existing historical arms and armor, some of the best extant, of the great captains who took an active part in the Spanish-Dutch Wars which resulted in the change of the old order, the mediaeval, to the modern. In fact, some of these are in our own collection! Mention may finally be made of the sword of Prince Maurice's last great opponent, the Marquis

Ambrogio di Spinola—a great masterpiece with its steel hilt richly sculptured with biblical scenes—which came to a local private collection during the same year that the Museum acquired its state partisan.

STEPHEN V. GRANCAY.

TWO CERTOSINA CHAIRS

More than the usual glamour of collector's romance is associated with two Italian Renaissance chairs acquired under the W. H. Riggs Armour and Art Donation,¹ and now exhibited in the Room of Recent Accessions. Some fifty years ago, Mr. Riggs persuaded the owner of the Palazzo Doria in Genoa to allow him to look about the garrets of the palace. In a lumber room under the eaves these important and extremely rare inlaid folding chairs (loosely called Dante or Savonarola chairs) were discovered, and with them the shaped



FIG. 1. INLAID CHAIR (CERTOSINA WORK)
ITALIAN, LOMBARDY, ABOUT 1500

leather case for one of them. Because of its poor condition this case was unfortunately not kept.

Chairs with this type of decoration are known as early as the end of the fifteenth century, and continued to be made as late as the seventeenth century. As such chairs could be conveniently folded, or easily taken apart, they were carried in and out of the house, or on to the roof (*altana*). It is said that in the sixteenth century the Ponte Trinità in Florence was reserved on summer evenings for patricians who sat on chairs brought from their palaces. Packed in their leather cases, they were used for traveling, for it was the custom to include certain

¹For two years they have been in Paris undergoing necessary restoration and have just arrived.

of the household belongings with the regular baggage.

The inlay, for which these chairs are remarkable, is called Certosina work, since it was executed in Lombardy in the vicinity of Pavia where there was the famous Certosa, or Carthusian monastery. This kind of ornament was primarily inspired by similar work originating in the Near East, where the same geometrical and highly conventionalized floral motives were used. Earlier examples in Italy may be seen in the decoration of caskets and altar screens made by the Embriachi family at Venice at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Riggs examples, in addition to the ivory and light-colored woods, contain circular and triangular sections of metal inlaid and filed smooth.

The chair shown in figure 1 is earlier than the other, for the seat, consisting of laths placed close together, and the back, formed of a simple board, were an earlier development than the use of leather or velvet for these parts. The back may be taken off by merely removing a wood block and dowel from one side. Then the chair with four wooden rods for swivels,

represented on the front and back of the chair by small knobs, may be folded by raising the central knobs, in front and in back, thus dividing the alternate laths.

The other chair, illustrated in figure 2, is entirely inlaid with small pieces of yellow and green ivory, colored wood, and metal.

The plain lines of the profiles are well adapted to the ornate decoration. The embroidered seventeenth-century velvet, which is backed by leather of more recent date, replaces the original velvet or leather strips. The upper right and lower left curved parts of the front supporting members of the chair are formed of one piece so joined to the opposite part as to allow folding.

Few pieces of North Italian furniture from the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century are in existence today, largely because of the disas-

trous invasions of the French, and later of the Spanish. The Museum is indeed fortunate to have added to its collections these two important inlaid chairs of established provenance.²

JAMES RORIMER.

²Similar chairs are in the Louvre; Eiler Collection, Berne; O. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam; and two in the Figdor Collection, Vienna.



FIG. 2. INLAID CHAIR (CERTOSINA WORK)
ITALIAN, LOMBARDY, XVI CENTURY

A NEWLY ACQUIRED
LOUTROPHOROS

If we try to picture to ourselves the old Athenian graveyard of the sixth century B.C. we must imagine it set with a variety of monuments—mostly tall, narrow slabs



FIG. 1. BACK OF GREEK LOU-
TROPHOROS (FUNERARY VASE)
VI CENTURY B.C.

with representations of the departed, crowned with finials in the form of palmettes or sphinxes; here and there statues in the round of the Apollo type, all resplendent with their gay blue, red, and yellow colors against the blue Greek sky; and in addition slender terracotta vases of distinctive shape placed on top of low mounds,

each with a funeral scene painted in black, white, and purple on the red clay—a rather more variegated effect on the whole than that of our modern cemeteries.

The Museum has just acquired an excellent example of such a funerary vase¹ or loutrophoros (figs. 1 and 2; height, 29½ inches [70.5 cm.]) in an exceptionally good state of preservation,² the best example in the black-figured technique that has survived. The shape is the familiar one—a slender egg-shaped body, a wide funnel-shaped neck, and two curving handles. It is decorated front and back, on both neck and body, with the ceremonial scenes which preceded a Greek burial—the laying out of the dead and the lamentations of the mourners (fig. 3). The dead youth is stretched out on a high couch, his body covered with a large cloth, his head supported by a cushion. His eyes are closed and the customary fillet is bound round his jaws.³ All around the couch stand the mourning women, presumably in the order of seniority, for that is the custom even to this day: at the head the mother with hand outstretched to the face of her dead son, then the next of kin, sisters, cousins, aunts, and perhaps professional mourners to lead in the singing; for the mouths are represented open to show that the women are chanting the funeral dirge. The singing is accompanied by the set gestures for lamentation, one arm raised with hand held open, the other brought to the head as if to tear the hair, or two hands held to the head. We are reminded of the words of Adrastus in the Suppliants of Euripides (772 f.):

I raise mine hand to greet the dead,
And pour out songs of death with
streaming eyes.

A little girl, probably the younger sister, is sitting on a rectangular stool by the head of the couch; she also holds both hands to

¹Shown this month in D 10 at the head of the central staircase.

²Though broken in several pieces, there were no fragments missing (except at the top of the handles) and there are no restorations.

³Cf. Lucian, *On Funerals*, 19: "I was prevented by the winding sheet and by the fillets with which you have bound up my jaws" [the dead man speaking].



FIG. 2. FRONT OF GREEK LOUTROPHOROS
(FUNERARY VASE), VI CENTURY B.C.

her head. All have cut their hair, in sign of mourning. On either side of this group are men walking in solemn procession, their right arms raised and their mouths open. They too are singing the haunting Greek dirge. Two among them have white beards and hair, and support their steps with sticks. They are probably the bereaved father and grandfather. To give the impression of the throng of mourners at such a funeral

the survival of tradition. For funerals in modern Greece have retained the essential features of this old Athenian rite—the assemblage of the mourners with the chanting of lamentations. Fifty years or more before our vase was painted Solon tried to curb excess in these funerary orgies. As Plutarch describes it: "He made the Athenians decorous and careful in their religious services, and milder in their rites of mourning



FIG. 3. DETAIL OF PRINCIPAL SCENE ON GREEK LOUTROPHOROS
VI CENTURY B.C.

the scene is continued on both sides of the neck of the vase, where women in the same formal attitudes are shown, one carrying in her arms a large vase identical in shape to the one we are describing. Below each of these groups are two lions, perhaps merely decorative features, though we know that a lion was sometimes used for a tomb memorial, so that there may be here also a funerary significance. Below the scenes on the body of the vase runs a frieze of lively horsemen, each holding up his hand in salutation to the dead. On the rim and handles are snake patterns, again reminding us of the purpose of the vase.

The whole is singularly impressive, and at the same time an eloquent testimony to

by . . . taking away the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time" (Solon, XII, 4-5). The "barbaric practices" seem to have consisted chiefly in lacerations of the cheeks and breasts, and perhaps in the tearing of hair. On our vase the ceremonies are throughout decorous. Either Solon's legislation had succeeded in eliminating the barbaric abandon or the painter of the vase felt that its representation would detract from the solemnity of his picture. If we on this side of the Atlantic wish to obtain an idea of similar ceremonies we have to go to the negro funerals in the South. There too the mourners gather in large numbers and give vent to their grief by singing dirges

in unison; and what beauty there is in such music we may learn in the play of Porgy being given here in New York.

The Greek name for vases of the shape of our new accession is *loutrophoros* (λουτρόφον = bath). It is derived from the custom of carrying water in such vases for the nuptial bath; but the vases were also erected on the tombs of those who died unmarried, presumably to make up in some way for what they had missed in life. For that purpose they were substantially made, with the handles joined to the neck by extra supports. Noteworthy is the fact that they have no bottoms—for the obvious reason that the libations poured into them were to reach the dead underground. As time went on, the terracotta *loutrophoroi* became less solid in form and were no longer decorated with funeral scenes but with marriage processions. Gradually their place in the graveyards was taken by marble specimens, worked either in the round or in relief. It was to such a one that Demosthenes must have referred in his speech against Leochares (Sections 18 and 30): "Archades died unmarried. And

the proof? A *loutrophoros* was placed on his tomb."

Vases of this form in the black-figured technique are rare. P. Wolters⁴ knew of only ten in 1891 (one in Leiden, five in Berlin, four in Athens); M. Collignon⁵ added one to this list in 1894. The number could doubtless be increased somewhat today. Besides our new example we have in our collection two of average workmanship, one a mere fragment,⁶ the other also far from complete.⁷

Our new vase belongs to the developed black-figured style. Some of the garments are still represented foldless, covered with little ornaments, as in the old days; but most of them show the later treatment, with oblique lines and zigzag edges to indicate the folds, similar to that current on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, dated about 525 B.C.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

⁴Athenische Mitteilungen, 1891, p. 378.

⁵Monuments Piot, 1894, p. 49, note 1.

⁶Canessa Sale Catalogue, p. 17, No. 59.

⁷Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. XX (1925), pp. 300-301, fig. 9.

ACCESSIONS AND NOTES

THE PHOTOGRAPH DIVISION of the Library is now displaying photographs showing women's hats of various periods.

ERRATUM. In the article A Mediaeval Vestment, in the December, 1927, issue of the BULLETIN, for first decade of the fourteenth century read first third of the fourteenth century.

APPOINTMENTS FOR MEMBERS FOLLOWING SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS. On the two Fridays following the private view of the Loan Exhibition of Spanish Paintings, February 24 and March 2, at 3 p.m., Miss Marshall will meet Members desiring to study the exhibition in more detail than is possible at the reception.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CORPORATION. The annual meeting of the Fellows in Perpetuity and Fellows for Life, members of the Corporation, was held in the Board Room on Monday, January 16, when the reports for the past year were presented by the Trustees, which later will be printed and distributed generally.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION. Section II of this issue of the BULLETIN contains the report of the Egyptian Expedition for the years 1925-27, in three parts: The Museum's Excavations at Thebes, The Graphic Work of the Expedition, and a list of the tombs in which the Expedition has been recording the wall-paintings and reliefs.

LECTURES BY ROYAL CORTISSOZ. Beginning Sunday, February 12, Royal Cortissoz is to give a series of five lectures on Flemish painting on successive Sundays at 4 o'clock.

The first two deal with the primitive painter in relation to his world in general and to his church. Realism and its culmi-

nation in the art of Rubens, and a consideration of the social motive impelling the painter follow. The last of the series, on March 11, deals with What the Moderns Have Made of Flemish Painting.

AN EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION ENTERTAINMENT. On December 19 the Employees' Association held a Christmas entertainment in the auditorium of the Museum that included two programmes of the Tony Sarg Marionettes. In the afternoon the children were regaled with scenes from Rip Van Winkle and Treasure Island; the evening performance was given over to the adventures of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves.

ADDITIONAL GALLERY VISITS IN MARCH. The talks on English and American art to be given for Members by Miss Marshall at 11 a.m. on Mondays, March 5, 12, 19, and 26, will be repeated at the same hour on the following Wednesday and Friday, thus, it is hoped, avoiding the overcrowding which made it difficult in January for some of the Members to see the objects discussed.

A COPTIC TUNIC OF A CHILD. Through the generosity of George D. Pratt the Museum has recently acquired a complete Coptic hooded tunic of a child, exhibited now in the Room of Recent Accessions. This rare tunic is entirely tapestry-woven in dark green wool and has shoulder bands and roundels decorated with conventionalized human figures and plants in purple wool and undyed linen thread. Judging from its style the tunic may be dated to about the fifth century. M. S. D.

SYMPHONY CONCERTS IN MARCH. The remaining concerts in the tenth annual series of free symphony concerts at the Museum will be conducted by David Mannes on the evenings of March 3, 10, 17, and 24, at 8

o'clock. The programmes will be announced in the newspapers, and on the programme of the preceding week. At 5:15, before each of the concerts, Thomas Whitney Surette will talk in the Lecture Hall on the numbers to be played that evening. The four March concerts are provided for this year by a grant from the Juilliard Musical Foundation, which has contributed in former years toward defraying the expense of the concerts.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A CURATOR OF FAR EASTERN ART. The Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art have just appointed Alan Reed Priest Curator of the Department of Far Eastern Art, in succession to Mr. Bosch Reitz, who retired from the service of the Museum last May.

Mr. Priest is a graduate of Harvard University of the class of 1920. During his undergraduate years he devoted himself largely to the study of the fine arts, laying the foundation for a general knowledge of the subject, particularly in European art. But immediately after graduation his interest turned towards Chinese and Japanese art, in which he began work with a thorough study of the rich collections of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, combining this with teaching at Harvard. In 1924 he went to China, where he remained until two months ago, first as a member of the Fogg Museum Expedition, and later independently as a student of his subject. During this period he made a long journey through North China, his travels extending to Chinese Turkestan and the eastern part of Siberia, and he also made visits to Japan. But for the last two years Peking has been his headquarters, where he has pursued his studies in both the arts and the language of the country.

MEMBERSHIP. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees held on December 19, 1927, Arthur Curtiss James, a Trustee of the Museum, was elected a Benefactor, and his name has been added to the list of these distinguished donors.

In recognition of gifts, the donors named in the following list were elected to the corporation membership:

FELLOWS IN PERPETUITY, Eugen Boross, Miss Annie Clarkson, Mrs. Ellwood Hendrick, Prince Albrecht Radziwill, Mrs. Bradish Johnson, in succession to Joseph F. Loubat.

FELLOWS FOR LIFE, Mrs. John J. Chapman, Herman A. Elsberg, Francklyn Wynne Paris.

The following persons, having qualified, were elected in their respective classes of annual membership:

SUSTAINING MEMBER, Mrs. Hugh B. Baker, and **120 ANNUAL MEMBERS.**

MUSEUM RADIO TALKS OVER WOR. Patrons of the radio may be interested to know that station WOR in coöperation with the Museum has planned a series of talks to be given on Wednesday evenings, March 7 through May 2, at 7:45 p. m. The topics and speakers are as follows:

- | | | |
|-------|----|--|
| March | 7 | The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A General Introduction, by Huger Elliott |
| | 14 | The Collections and How They May Be Studied, by Huger Elliott |
| | 21 | The Museums and the Schools, by Ethelwyn Bradish |
| | 28 | Egyptian Art as an Expression of Egyptian Life, by Huger Elliott |
| April | 4 | How the Chinese Artist Looked at Nature, by Huger Elliott |
| | 11 | The Cloisters: a Branch Museum, by Huger Elliott |
| | 18 | The Armor of Famous Men, by Stephen V. Grancsay |
| | 25 | Art in Daily Use, by Richard F. Bach |
| May | 2 | The American Wing, by Huger Elliott |

WOODWORK FROM THE HOENTSCHEL COLLECTION. Minor rearrangements in the Morgan Wing have made it possible to bring out of storage certain examples of French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century woodwork, formerly in the Hoentschel Collection, and to distribute them according to period in various of the galleries from F 10 to F 26. It is unnecessary to mention each one of the hundred or more objects

which have thus been made available to the public, but attention may properly be called to a few of the more important ones. In Gallery F 10, for instance, there is part of a balustrade of the Regency period, said to have come originally from Versailles, and an especially fine example of smiling female mask of the same period, which formed the central motif of the enframement of a large mirror. The small satyr's head on the window jamb in F 12 is an extraordinarily sensitive specimen of mid-eighteenth century wood-carving. On the south balcony



LADY WITH PAGE, MODERN MEISSEN PORCELAIN GROUP BY SCHEURICH

(F 18) a semicircular over-door depicting amorini playfully drinking wine is in the Louis XVI style. An extremely fine console table on the window wall in F 24 and, in the same gallery, a case of examples of Louis XVI wood-carving should be noted. On the north balcony (F 26) are two cases of fragments of carved and, for the most part, gilded ornament. One of these cases is devoted to the Louis XVI style, the other to the eighteenth century as a whole. On the balcony are also shown several fine picture-frames, eight more of which are exhibited in the passageway leading to Gallery L 6. The visitor should be especially interested in this collection of frames, which is an unusually fine one and well illus-

trates the various stylistic modifications which this commodity underwent during the eighteenth century.

P. R.

MODERN MEISSEN. Two recent purchases of modern decorative arts are now on exhibition in Gallery J 8. They are a statuette group and a clock, both in porcelain, made at Meissen in Germany from the models of Professor Scheurich. The famous Meissen factory may be congratulated upon having secured the collaboration of so distinguished an artist as Professor Scheurich. His works in porcelain—unhappily far too few in number—add new laurels to the reputation of this ancient manufactory. In beauty of form and decoration, as in perfection of execution, these modern productions rival the masterpieces of the eighteenth century. It is not only in subject and costume that Professor Scheurich's work often recalls the fragile ceramic bibelots of the rococo age; his sculpture is instinct with the feeling for grace and charm that inspired the Meissen modelers of the great period. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that his work is far removed from all imitation. It is, on the contrary, unmistakably personal in style, characterized by sculptural qualities of high order.

One of the new accessions represents a lady with a negro page. The little black-amoor, gayly dressed in Oriental costume, is begging for a piece of fruit which his mistress playfully withholds from him. This group is one of Professor Scheurich's most characteristic and successful works. The other recent purchase is a large clock in the form of two little children, a boy and a girl, seated on ruffled cushions, holding between them a cylindrical clock. From the technical point of view, this piece is a *tour de force*. Although it measures $23\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, it has been made in one piece of porcelain. On both groups, color and gilding are sparingly applied, adding interest to the forms and enhancing the brilliance of the white porcelain.

J. B.

THREE NEW EDITIONS OF MUSEUM PUBLICATIONS. The month of January

brought the issuance of three of the Museum publications in new editions. The first of these is the *List of Publications*¹ itself, rearranged according to a classification which it is hoped may be more ready for reference, and issued in a format similar to the *Cyclopedia* of reproductions. Only titles of publications still in print are included here, but these amount to the surprising number of one hundred and ten, ranging in price (exclusive of a few distributed free) from ten cents to one hundred dollars. Noticeable is the comparative availability to the moderate purse of fully illustrated handbooks and catalogues.

A *Handbook of the American Wing*² appears in its fourth edition, corrected and brought up to date. Since the opening of the American Wing in 1924 this *Handbook* has sold so steadily as to indicate that almost beyond any other publication of the Museum it meets with general approval.

The *Handbook of the Altman Collection*³ has been out of print for so long that only older habitués of the Museum may remember that such a publication ever existed. Its former popularity, however, was considerable, and inquiries about a new edition have continued. In this second edition, the text has been entirely rearranged to accord with the rearrangement of the objects themselves in their now permanent location in Wing K, and some other revisions and corrections made. The book covers the entire collection—Chinese ceramics, Dutch and other paintings, sculpture, furniture, tapestry, rugs, Japanese lacquer, and some miscellaneous material—and the object-by-object description which it employs is well suited to a collection of this kind, where the selective principle was delight in the single piece rather than an attempt to achieve historical completeness. The book can be comfortably held in the hand and easily read while looking at the collec-

tion in the galleries, but because of its generous illustration by halftone plates it is usable also for study at home.



MOURNING VIRGIN, SPANISH, EARLY
XVI CENTURY

ACCESSIONS OF DECORATIVE ARTS. At the recent sale in New York of the collection of Dr. John E. Stillwell of this city, several purchases were made by the Museum for the Department of Decorative Arts. Conspicuous among these is a statue of the Mourning Virgin from a Crucifixion

¹List of Publications. iv, 14 pp. 12mo. New York, 1928.

²A *Handbook of the American Wing*, by R. T. H. Halsey and Charles O. Cornelius. Fourth edition. xviii, 295 pp. 112 ill. 8vo. New York, 1928. Price, in paper, \$1.00, in cloth, \$2.00.

³*Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*. Second edition. xvi, 170 pp. 52 pl. 8vo. New York, 1928. Price, in paper, \$1.00.

group, shown in Gallery C 20. The statue, carved in walnut, measures 50 inches in height. The face and hands retain the original polychrome painting, and traces of gilding may still be seen on the drapery. The statue was acquired by the former owner many years ago in Spain. Characteristically Spanish is the dramatic intensity of the thin ascetic hands and of the haggard face of the Virgin. The treatment of the drapery is still Gothic, but certain mannerisms in the rendering of the folds suggest the early sixteenth century as the probable date of this masterly wood-carving.

A gilt-bronze statuette of Saint Sebastian,¹ twenty-one inches in height, is a superb example of the small sculptures of the late Renaissance. The graceful, nude body of the martyred saint hangs by one arm from the stump of a tree. The body is gilded; the tree trunk lacquered black. This bronze, of which several replicas are known, is an Italian work, perhaps Floren-

tine, of the first half of the seventeenth century. Like other sculptures of the period, it shows the influence of Gian Bologna.

The other new accessions are all German.¹ Painted at Cologne in 1538 for Herman van Memmingen is a roundel of stained glass in brown and yellow, representing the New and the Old Dispensation.² Agricultural scenes enameled in many colors decorate a tall cylindrical drinking glass of the type known as "humpen" or "willkommen." The cover is dated 1585. Three pieces of German stoneware, all of the sixteenth century, are welcome additions to our ceramic collection. The most important of these is an unusually large Raeren jug with the maker's name, Baldem Menniken, and the date 1579. The body is ornamented with five medallion reliefs of mythological subjects.

J. B.

² Published by H. Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin*, 1913, vol. I, page 67, fig. 112.

¹ Exhibited in the Room of Recent Accessions.

LIST OF ACCESSIONS AND LOANS

DECEMBER 6, 1927, TO JANUARY 5, 1928

ANTIQUITIES—CLASSICAL

Black-figured terracotta loutrophoros, Attic, VI cent. B.C. (Floor II, Room 10); marble corner of sarcophagus: torso of man with hands bound and parts of another figure.*

Purchase.

ANTIQUITIES—EGYPTIAN

Objects (616) from Thebes: red granite seated statue of Queen Hatshepsut, from her temple at Deir el Bahri, XVIII dyn.; foundation-deposits (3) from the temple of Queen Hatshepsut, XVIII dyn., consisting of glazed steatite and faience scarabs (234) of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Neferure, etc., inscribed alabaster ointment jars (6), inscribed alabaster clam-shell, food offerings, model vases, dishes of pottery, etc.; foundation-deposits (5) of the tomb of Hatshepsut's architect, Senmut, XVIII dyn., consisting of alabaster oil jars (8), alabaster clam-shells (3), inscribed alabaster saucer, food offerings, model tools, model vases, dishes of pottery, etc.; bows and arrows, and fragments of inscribed linen, from the XI dyn. "Tomb of the Soldiers," and miscellaneous objects such as stelae, tools and weapons, toilet boxes, etc., from other XI dyn. tombs; miscellaneous XVIII dyn. material, including ostraca with sketches, workmen's tools, fragments of papyrus letters, etc.; faience ushabtis, amulets, bead-nets, etc., XXI-XXVI dyn.*

Excavations of Museum's Egyptian Expedition. Alabaster vase, with cover, inscribed with the name of Pepi I, VI dyn.; glazed steatite scarab, probably XII dyn.; grass basket with cover, and cover of a similar basket, probably XVIII dyn.; stone eye amulets (2) from a bracelet, Empire period; painted wooden stela, XXII dyn.; fragment of sandstone bas-relief, from the small temple south of the Lake, Karnak, XXIX dyn.*

Purchase.

Fragment of basalt relief, inscribed with the name and title of King Khafre, IV dyn.†

Gift of Frederic B. Pratt.

ARMS AND ARMOR

Hauberk of chain mail, Polish, XVII cent.*

Gift of Dr. Bashford Dean.

State halberd, with portrait of Maurice of Nassau, Dutch, 1567-1625.†

Purchase.

BOOKS—THE LIBRARY

Gifts of George Blumenthal, Miss E. M. Graves, Theodore Fred Kuiper, Jacques Mühsam,

*Not yet placed on exhibition.

†Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, Room 8).

Milton S. Ray, Henry H. Townshend, Mrs. Edward J. Tylus.

CERAMICS

Pottery jar, called "The Tuang Fang coin jar," Chinese, Han dyn. (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) (Wing H, Room 12)

Gift of P. Jackson Higgs.

Tankard: The Last Judgment, by Master F. T., stoneware, Siegburg, abt. 1560; ewer: Minerva and Diana, by Master I. E., stoneware, Raeren, 1578; jug: Mythological Figures, by Baldern Menniken, stoneware, Raeren, 1570.—German†; teapot with cover, creamware, English (?), third quarter of XVIII cent.†; clock and group, Lady with Page, by Professor Scheurich, porcelain, German (Meissen), contemporary (Wing J, Room 8).

Purchase.

Plate, porcelain The Autumn, by Frank Graham Holmes, American, modern.*

Gift of Lenox, Incorporated.

COSTUMES

Child's tunic, with hood, Coptic, V cent.†

Gift of George D. Pratt.

Hood, black lace, American, abt. 1600.*

Gift of Miss G. W. Sargent.

GLASS (OBJECTS IN)

Bumper, enameled glass, Agricultural Scenes, German, 1585.†

Purchase.

GLASS, STAINED

Medallion: The Old and New Testament, German (Cologne), 1538.†

Purchase.

LACES

Sample of Punto di Ragusa, needlepoint lace, Italian, XVI cent.*

Gift of Miss Margaret Taylor Johnstone.

METALWORK

Foot scraper, wrought iron, from Wentworth-Gardner House, Portsmouth, N. H., third quarter of XVIII cent.*

Gift of Mrs. Henry W. Lanier.

Lantern bracket, wrought iron, from Vaucluse, Portsmouth, R. I., abt. 1800.*

Purchase.

MINIATURES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Miniatures (14), leaves from a book, on parchment, late XV cent.; miniature, Adoration of the Holy Name, and miniature, Annunciation, both on parchment, abt. 1500.—Flemish.*

Gift of Miss Alice M. Dike.

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Miniature, Portrait of a Lady, by George Freeman, American, 1780(?)–1868*
Purchase.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Zither, Italian(?), XVIII cent.†
Gift of Mrs. Eva Mali Noyes.

PAINTINGS

Madonna and Child, by Guiduccio Palmerucci, 1280–1345; crucifix (two sides), painted on wood, XV cent.,—Italian; Peacock, by Melchior d'Hondecoeter, Dutch, 1604–1653.*
Gift of H. S. Kress.

PHOTOGRAPHS—LENDING COLLECTIONS

Gift of Theodore Fred Kuiper.

PHOTOGRAPHS—THE LIBRARY

Gifts of Miss Edith Agnew, George Blumenthal, Mrs. William W. Cowell, Alphonse Vorenkamp.

PRINTS

Gifts of Perceval M. Barker, Mrs. Morris Hawkes, Mrs. Thekla Kretz.

REPRODUCTIONS

Cast, painted plaster, of red quartzite head of one of the daughters of Ikhnaton (XVIII dyn.), the original, found at Tell el Amarna in 1926–1927, now in the Cairo Museum.*
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society.

SCULPTURE

Statue, carved wood, Mourning Virgin, Spanish, abt. 1500 (Floor I, Room 20); statue, gilt-bronze, St. Sebastian, Italian (Florentine?), early XVII cent.†

Purchase.

Bronze statuette, Belgian Fisherman, by Pierre de Soete, Belgian, contemporary.†

Gift of Franklyn Wynne Paris.

TEXTILES

Woodblocks (3) for printing textiles, with impressions, English, late XVIII cent.†

Gift of C. P. and J. Baker.

Embroidered bedspread, made by Mercy Emerson Tomlinson, American (South Kentucky), abt. 1820.†

Gift of Miss Cora Parker, in memory of her mother, Mrs. Pamela Ann Parker.

Swatches (17) of Americana prints, by various artists, American, contemporary.*

Gift of Stebli Silks Corporation.

*Not yet placed on exhibition.

†Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, Room 8).

Pieces (4), of silk, American, modern.*

Gift of Cheney Brothers.

Samples (6) of printed silk and chiffon voile, American, modern.*

Gift of H. R. Mallinson and Co.

Samples (13) of cretonne, American, modern.*
Purchase.

WOODWORK AND FURNITURE

Chairs (2), walnut inlaid with ivory, Italian, end of XV and XVI cent.†

Gift of William H. Riggs.

Side portal of the Bristol House, New Haven, Conn., 1803–1804.*

Gift of Cass Gilbert.

Armchair, leather upholstered, Italian, XVI cent. (Floor I, Room 21); armchair, walnut with cane seat and back, Louis XV, French, XVIII cent. (Wing K, Room 21); doorway, triple window, rail, and double-hung windows (2), wood, from Vaucluse, Portsmouth, R. I., abt. 1800.*

Purchase.

ARMS AND ARMOR

Gun and pistol, each signed: Jean Paul Cleff, Austrian(?), 1675–1700 (Armor Study Room).

Lent by William G. Renwick.

Engraved plate of design for ornamenting firearms, signed Mel Oliverot Arquebusier Tarascon, French, XVIII cent. (Armor Study Room).

Lent by William G. Renwick.

BOOKS

Books (18), bindings designed by Charles Ricketts, English, XIX cent. (Wing J, Room 8).

Lent by Harold W. Bell.

PAINTINGS

Screens (2), by So-ami, 1480–1520; screens (2), by Naonobu, XVII cent.,—Japanese (Wing H, Room 14).

Lent by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Triumph of Death, Mantegna School, Italian, XV cent. (Floor II, Room 37).

Lent by S. H. Kress.

SCULPTURE

Bronze statuette, with ormolu mounts, French, early XIX cent.*

Lent by Mrs. Harry H. Benkard.

WOODWORK AND FURNITURE

Looking-glass, walnut on pine, American, XVIII cent. (American Wing).

Lent by Mrs. Harry H. Benkard.

Looking-glass, American, early XIX cent. (American Wing).

Lent by Mrs. J. Insley Blair.

CALENDAR OF LECTURES

FREE LECTURES

FEBRUARY 18 TO MARCH 17, 1928

FEBRUARY	HOUR
18 The National Gallery, London Edith R. Abbot.	4:00
19 Flemish Painting: The Primitive and the Church Royal Cortissoz.	4:00
25 The Art of Mary Cassatt (Lecture for the Deaf and Deafened who Read the Lips) Jane B. Walker.	3:00
25 The Meanings of Mediaeval Art Henry Osborn Taylor.	4:00
26 Flemish Painting: Realism and Its Culmination in Rubens Royal Cortissoz.	4:00
MARCH	
3 Sculpture and Painting in Relation to Architecture J. Monroe Hewlett.	4:00
3 Talk on the Concert Programme Thomas Whitney Surette.	5:15
4 Flemish Painting: The Social Motive and Anthony van Dyck Royal Cortissoz.	4:00
5 English Decorative Arts from the XVI to the XX Century (Gallery Talk for Members) Hetty Vincent Marshall.	11:00
7 English Decorative Arts from the XVI to the XX Century (Gallery Talk for Members) Hetty Vincent Marshall.	11:00
9 English Decorative Arts from the XVI to the XX Century (Gallery Talk for Members) Hetty Vincent Marshall.	11:00
10 Dutch Painting of the XVII Century E. Baldwin Smith.	4:00
10 Talk on the Concert Programme Thomas Whitney Surette.	5:15
11 Flemish Painting: What the Moderns Have Made of It Royal Cortissoz.	4:00
12 The American Wing (Gallery Talk for Members) Hetty Vincent Marshall.	11:00
14 The American Wing (Gallery Talk for Members) Hetty Vincent Marshall.	11:00
16 The American Wing (Gallery Talk for Members) Hetty Vincent Marshall.	11:00
17 Life on an Estate in Ancient Egypt Ludlow S. Bull.	4:00
17 Talk on the Concert Programme Thomas Whitney Surette.	5:15

Story-Hours for Boys and Girls by Anna Curtis Chandler, Saturdays, February 18, 25, March 3, 10, 17, at 1:45 p. m.; Sundays, February 19, 26, March 4, 11, at 1:45 and 2:45 p. m.; for Members' Children by Anna Curtis Chandler, Saturdays, February 18, March 3, 10, 17, by Agnes K. Inglis, Saturday, February 25, at 10:15 a. m.

Gallery Talks by Elise P. Carey, Saturdays at 2:00 p. m., Sundays at 3:00 p. m.; by Roberta M. Fansler, Saturdays at 3:00 p. m., Sundays at 2:00 p. m.

Study-Hours for Practical Workers, by Lucy Taylor, Sundays, February 19, 26, by Eliza M. Niblack, Sunday, March 4, by Ward Cheney, Sunday, March 11, at 3:00 p. m.

LECTURES FOR WHICH FEES ARE CHARGED

FEBRUARY 16 TO MARCH 17, 1928

In this calendar M indicates that the course is given by the Museum, N that it is given by New York University.

FEBRUARY	HOUR	FEBRUARY	HOUR
16 Church Building and Decoration (N) Kenneth J. Conant.....	11:00	23 Museum Course for Elementary and Junior High School Teachers (M)	
16 Outline of the History of Art (N) Richard Offner.....	3:20	24 Study-Hour for Salespeople and Buyers (M)	3:45
16 Museum Course for Elementary and Junior High School Teachers (M)		24 Modern French Painting (N) Grace Cornell.....	9:00
17 Study-Hour for Salespeople and Buyers (M)	3:45	24 Study-Hours for Teachers (M) Walter Pach.....	11:00
17 Modern French Painting (N) Grace Cornell.....	9:00	24 Arts and Crafts of Today (N) Kate Mann Franklin and Anna Lamont Rogers.....	4:00
17 Study-Hour for Teachers (M) Walter Pach.....	11:00	25 Study-Hour for Young Girls (M) Lee Simonson.....	8:00
17 Study-Hour for Teachers (M) Lucy Taylor.....	4:00	25 Study-Hour for Home-Makers (M) Kate Mann Franklin.....	10:30
17 Arts and Crafts of Today (N) Lee Simonson.....	8:00	25 History of Painting in Western Europe (M)	10:30
18 Study-Hour for Young Girls (M) Kate Mann Franklin.....	10:30	27 The Technique and Criticism of Painting (N) Edith R. Abbot.....	11:00
18 Study-Hour for Home-Makers (M) Fern Bradley.....	10:30	27 Museum Course for High School Teachers (M)	11:00
18 History of Painting in Western Europe (M)		27 English Furniture and Woodwork (N)	4:00
20 The Technique and Criticism of Painting (N) Herbert R. Cross.....	11:00	28 Sieneese Painting (N) Ethelwyn Bradish.....	8:00
20 Museum Course for High School Teachers (M)	11:00	28 Modern Architectural Art (N) Richard Offner.....	11:00
20 English Furniture and Woodwork (N)	8:00	28 Introduction to the History of Art (N) Everett V. Meeks.....	8:00
21 Sieneese Painting (N) Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00	28 Contemporary Decorative Art (N) Paul T. Frankl.....	8:00
21 Modern Architectural Art (N) Richard Offner.....	11:00	29 Mediaeval Art (N) John Shapley.....	8:00
21 Introduction to the History of Art (N)	3:00	29 English Furniture and Woodwork (N)	8:00
21 Contemporary Decorative Art (N) Herbert R. Cross.....	8:00	Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00
21 The Art of the Far East (N) Paul T. Frankl.....	8:00		
22 The Art of the Far East (N) George Rowley.....	11:00		
22 Spanish Painting (N) A. Philip McMahon.....	11:00		
22 Mediaeval Art (N) John Shapley.....	8:00		
22 English Furniture and Woodwork (N)	8:00		
23 Church Building and Decoration (N) Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00		
23 Outline of the History of Art (N) Kenneth J. Conant.....	11:00		
23 Outline of the History of Art (N) E. R. Bossange.....	3:20		

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

MARCH	HOUR	MARCH	HOUR
2 Modern French Painting (N) Walter Pach.....	11:00	9 Arts and Crafts of Today (N) Erik Magnussen.....	8:00
2 Study-Hour for Teachers (M) Lucy Taylor.....	4:00	10 Study-Hour for Home-Makers (M) Anna Lamont Rogers.....	10:30
2 Arts and Crafts of Today (N) Lucian Bernhard.....	8:00	10 History of Painting in Western Europe (M) Edith R. Abbot.....	11:00
3 Study-Hour for Young Girls (M) Kate Mann Franklin.....	10:30	12 The Technique and Criticism of Painting (N) Herbert R. Cross.....	11:00
3 Study-Hour for Home-Makers (M) Grace Cornell.....	10:30	12 Museum Course for High School Teachers (M) Ethelwyn Bradish.....	4:00
3 History of Painting in Western Europe (M) Edith R. Abbot.....	11:00	12 English Furniture and Woodwork (N) Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00
5 The Technique and Criticism of Painting (N) Herbert R. Cross.....	11:00	13 Sienese Painting (N) Richard Offner.....	11:00
5 Museum Course for High School Teachers (M) Ethelwyn Bradish.....	4:00	13 Modern Architectural Art (N) Everett V. Meeks.....	3:00
5 English Furniture and Woodwork (N) Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00	13 Introduction to the History of Art (N) Herbert R. Cross.....	8:00
6 Sienese Painting (N) Richard Offner.....	11:00	13 Contemporary Decorative Art (N) Paul T. Frankl.....	8:00
6 Modern Architectural Art (N) Everett V. Meeks.....	3:00	14 The Art of the Far East (N) George Rowley.....	11:00
6 Introduction to the History of Art (N) Herbert R. Cross.....	8:00	14 Spanish Painting (N) A. Philip McMahon.....	11:00
6 Contemporary Decorative Art (N) Paul T. Frankl.....	8:00	14 Mediaeval Art (N) John Shapley.....	8:00
7 The Art of the Far East (N) George Rowley.....	11:00	14 English Furniture and Woodwork (N) Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00
7 Spanish Painting (N) A. Philip McMahon.....	11:00	15 Church Building and Decoration (N) Kenneth J. Conant.....	11:00
7 Mediaeval Art (N) John Shapley.....	8:00	15 Outline of the History of Art (N) Richard Offner.....	3:20
7 English Furniture and Woodwork (N) Herbert Cescinsky.....	8:00	15 Museum Course for Elementary and Junior High School Teachers (M) Anna Curtis Chandler.....	3:45
8 Church Building and Decoration (N) Kenneth J. Conant.....	11:00	16 Study-Hour for Salespeople and Buyers (M) Huger Elliott.....	9:00
8 Outline of the History of Art (N) Richard Offner.....	3:20	16 Modern French Painting (N) Walter Pach.....	11:00
8 Museum Course for Elementary and Junior High School Teachers (M) Elizabeth Shippen Green (Mrs. Huger Elliott).....	3:45	16 Study-Hour for Teachers (M) Fern Bradley.....	4:00
9 Study-Hour for Salespeople and Buyers (M) Huger Elliott.....	9:00	16 Arts and Crafts of Today (N) Erik Magnussen.....	8:00
9 Modern French Painting (N) Walter Pach.....	11:00	17 History of Painting in Western Europe (M) Edith R. Abbot.....	11:00
9 Study-Hours for Teachers (M) Kate Mann Franklin and Anna Lamont Rogers.....	4:00		

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Incorporated April 13, 1870, "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining . . . a Museum and library of art, of encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and the application of arts to manufacture and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, and, to that end, of furnishing popular instruction."

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BENEFACTORS, who contribute or devise . . .	\$50,000
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PRIVILEGES—All Members are entitled to the following privileges:

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Ten complimentary tickets a year, each of which admits the bearer once, on either Monday or Friday.

The services of the Museum Instructors free.

An invitation to any general reception given by the Trustees at the Museum for Members.

The BULLETIN and the Annual Report.

A set of all handbooks published for general distribution, upon request at the Museum.

Contributing, Sustaining, Fellowship Members have, upon request, double the number of tickets to the Museum accorded to Annual Members; their families are included in the invitation to any general reception; and whenever their subscriptions in the aggregate amount to \$1,000 they shall be entitled to be elected Fellows for Life, and to become members of the Corporation. For further particulars, address the Secretary.

ADMISSION

The Museum is open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Saturday until 6 p.m.; Sunday from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. The Cloisters and the American Wing close at dusk.

On Monday and Friday an admission fee of 25 cents is charged to all except Members and holders of complimentary tickets.

Members are admitted on pay days on presentation of their tickets. Persons holding Members' complimentary tickets are entitled to one admittance on a pay day.

MUSEUM INSTRUCTORS

Visitors desiring special direction or assistance in studying the Museum collections may secure the services of members of the staff on application to the Director of Educational Work. An appointment should preferably be made in advance.

This service is free to Members and to teachers in the public schools of New York City, as well as to pupils under their guidance. To all others a charge of \$1 an hour is made with an additional fee of 25 cents for each person in a group exceeding four in number.

PRIVILEGES TO STUDENTS

For special privileges extended to teachers, pupils, and art students; and for use of the Library, classrooms, study rooms, and lending collections, see special leaflets.

Requests for permits to copy and to photograph in the Museum should be addressed to the Secretary. No permits are necessary for sketching and for taking snapshots with hand cameras. Permits are issued for all days except Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and legal holidays. For further information, see special leaflet.

PUBLICATIONS

CATALOGUES published by the Museum, PHOTOGRAPHS of all objects belonging to the Museum, PHOTOSTATS of books, photographs, and prints, POSTCARDS, COLOR PRINTS, ETCHINGS, and CASTS are on sale at the Fifth Avenue entrance. Lists will be sent on application. Orders by mail may be addressed to the Secretary.

CAFETERIA

A cafeteria located in the basement of the building is open on week-days from 12 m. to 4.45 p.m., Sundays from 1 to 5.15 p.m.

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1925-1927



SECTION II OF THE BULLETIN
OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
NEW YORK
FEBRUARY, MCMXXVIII

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
1928

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1925-1927

THE MUSEUM'S EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES

THE winter of 1924-25 had by no means seen the end of our archaeological housecleaning. Innumerable details of the tombs and temples which we had been excavating remained to be planned and photographed and our storehouses were still crowded with a very mixed assortment of antiquities which we had never had a chance to over-haul. That we did not dig during the winter of 1925-26 was hardly a disappointment to us, therefore, for it gave us a chance to see some of the corners of our magazines which had been cluttered up for years, and to make space for the building of a sadly needed workroom. By the winter of 1926-27, when actual excavation began again, everything was set for a large piece of work; a gang of over five hundred men and boys was recruited, and digging was restarted under conditions far more satisfactory than they would have been if there had been no interruption.

Throughout both seasons much of Burton's work has been, as usual, with Carter in the Tomb of Tutenkhamon and on the Museum's records of Theban tombs, but nevertheless he has found the time to do all of the photography needed for our excavations as well. As in past years Hauser has made all of the plans and surveys of the work, and during the respite from active digging has had an opportunity to bring up to date his large-scale maps of the Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries. In the season of 1925-26 Edward M. Weyer was with us, and in 1926-27 James R. Brewster took over most of the burden of accounting and correspondence as well as the arranging of the file of archaeological records which had been installed in the Museum's house

at Thebes upon the renewal of active digging. And then there have been our daily dozen of pestiferous housekeeping details, engine troubles, negotiations with the Egyptian Government, the police court trial of an absconding guard, and the never-ending doctoring of the innumerable ills to which the Egyptian workman's flesh is heir — jobs which have been shared by all of us, including Wilkinson who gave us the time he could spare from copying the tomb paintings of the Necropolis.

During both of the past seasons the expedition has had advantages of which it is difficult to say enough in appreciation. With Professor Percy E. Newberry as a guest, not only has the household had a delightful addition, but the work has benefited from the advice and assistance of one whose experience of Egypt covers a longer period than that of almost any living archaeologist, and whose inexhaustible fund of knowledge is dealt out with lavish generosity to all of his colleagues. Our debt to Dr. Douglas E. Derry, added to during the past two years, is one which the reader of these reports will recall as long standing. On every problem involving ancient Egyptian anatomy or medicine we have turned to him, confident of a zealous and ungrudging help which has been especially welcome during the last winter. Equally true is this of the aid given us by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner on the hieratic ostraca found during the renewed excavations. By giving us translations of them during the actual progress of the digging, he made it possible for us to arrive at some of our conclusions much more readily than might otherwise have been the case.

This matter of problems justifies a few more words of preface to any report such as this.

Digging in Egypt may seem an adventure to many. Possibly it is—but in a somewhat unexpected way. First, of course, there is the Orient, which must of necessity have a "glamour" whenever it is written about, but it is a somewhat tarnished glamour to the harassed excavator whose supply truck is suddenly stopped by an official regulation,



FIG. 1. TERRACOTTA CONES. XI DYNASTY

ostensibly because automobiles are anachronisms but actually because they threaten to put out of business the tourist carriages whose native owners are not above a little devious politics. Then there should be the excitement of seeing things come up out of the ground, only it is the perversity of antiquities that they do not appear dramatically in full panoply like Athena from the brow of Zeus, or even neatly ticketed with reasonably explanatory labels. Usually they come in most efficient disguise and in most unexpected places, and here lies the real adventure—although it is often a somewhat belated one—interpreting what has been found. After all, without a pedigree antiquities degenerate into mere curiosities and it is the digger's duty above

all to supply the history which goes with his discoveries. Appreciation of their esthetic value—when they have any—can safely be left to others.

With this by way of preface the reader should be amply warned as to the nature of this report. It is an attempt to untangle, from a muddled mass of abandoned theories, those which seem the most probable explanations of the whys and wherefores of what we have found. Naturally, much of the uncertainty and guesswork of digging remains in the following pages, but the problems can be made somewhat easier to comprehend by dividing the work, not into the two seasons in which it took place, but into the two historical periods with which it has made us most familiar—the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and the middle of the Eighteenth.

I. THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY ABOUT 2000 B.C.

So far as can be foreseen at present, our work is practically finished on the Temple of Mentuhotep and on the cemetery to the north of the temple avenue, at least as far along the hillside toward the cultivation as the tombs of the greater nobles extend. Most of these tombs we had cleared in former seasons, but we still had on our hands masses of fragments of the sculptures which had once decorated them, and months were spent trying to fit them together again.

With the limestone bas-reliefs it was a discouraging business. In the later dynastic periods, the chapels had been practically turned into factories for the making of limestone dishes, and the chips left after their walls had been turned into bowls and platters represented only a small fraction of the surfaces once sculptured.¹ However, with the sandstone burial crypt in the tomb of Queen Neferu it was a different matter.² The thieves had broken into it, smashed up the sarcophagus, and torn down the back wall looking for secret passages beyond, but either because sandstone was of little use or because the crypt was so deep

¹BULLETIN, December, 1923, part II, p. 16.

²BULLETIN, March, 1926, part II, p. 11, fig. 7.

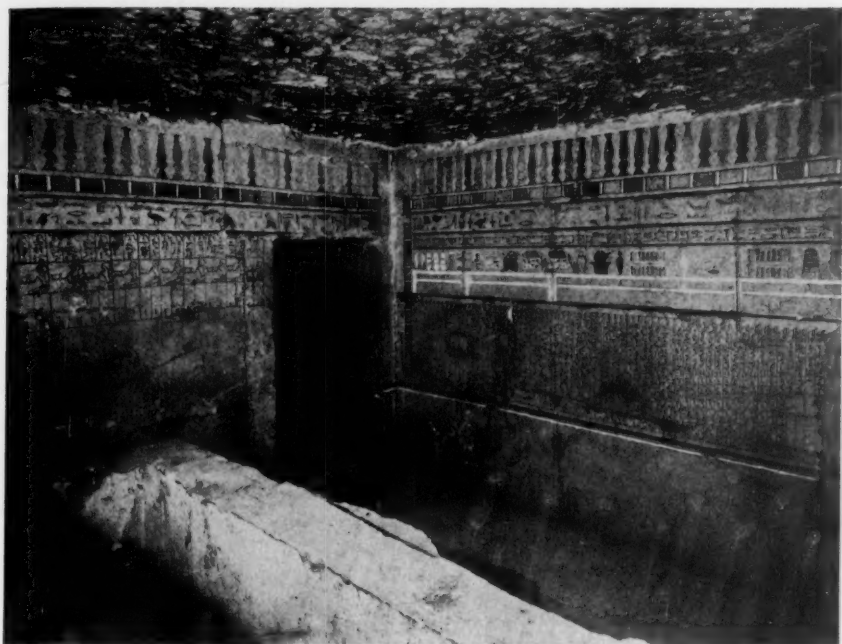


FIG. 2. THE BURIAL CRYPT OF QUEEN NEFERU LOOKING EAST. XI DYNASTY

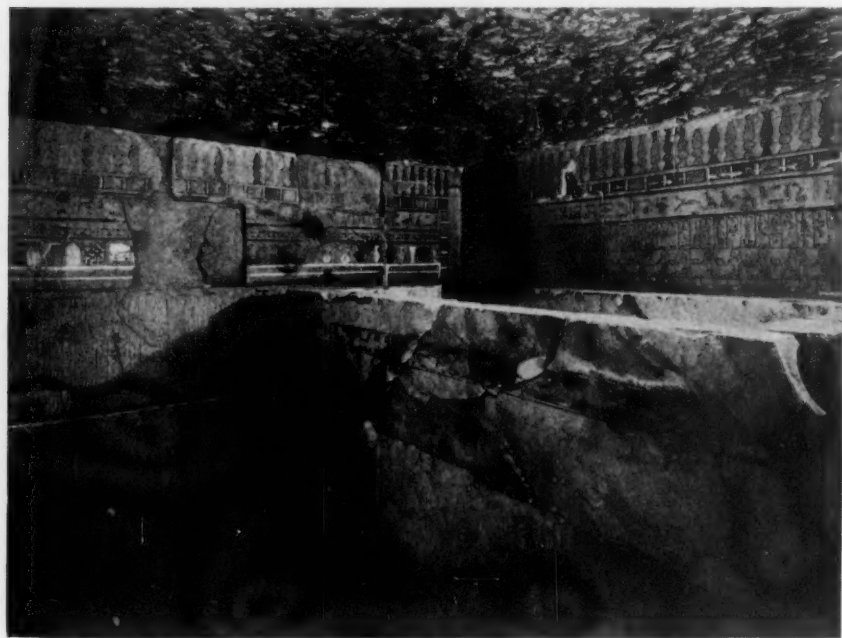


FIG. 3. THE BURIAL CRYPT OF QUEEN NEFERU LOOKING WEST. XI DYNASTY

underground, no one had ever removed a single chip from the wreckage. Here it was possible to restore the entire chamber, sarcophagus and all. Raising large blocks of stone in a stuffy, narrow little space fifty yards underground and laying brick with a trowel in one hand and a candle in the other took time, but when the job was done the best of the Eleventh Dynasty burial crypts in Thebes was once more complete (figs. 2 and 3).

When our excavations were started once

the conical loaves of bread which we know were baked by the Egyptians, and many of us took it for granted that they had been put in the tomb courts as imitation food offerings, especially as in one case we had found them carefully stacked in a corner. On the other hand, Rhind, who dug in Thebes seventy-five years ago, has left a more or less passing mention of having found them stuck over the façade of a tomb and Davies, shrewder than many of us, recognized them in a frieze over the door



FIG. 4. FRIEZE OF TERRACOTTA CONES. XI DYNASTY

more there still remained undug the tombs of the less pretentious Theban burghers along the foot of the hillside below the great tombs of the grandees above. To clear them was one of the first undertakings of this past season and before the work was finished some thirty had been explored, and a solution had been gained to one, at least, of the minor problems of Egyptian archaeology.

Terracotta cones sometimes a foot long are found all over the Theban Necropolis (fig. 1). They turn up, scattered about the courts of all of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs, and for the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the names of the dead were stamped on their bases, cones have been found for most of the known tombs. What they meant, however, has always been a question. They look like representations of

in an ancient picture of a tomb.³ There the problem stood.

Naturally, the tops of the tomb façades are the first things to go and the last things to be buried, but this year we were lucky enough to find a tomb at the bottom of the hill which had been covered over completely thirty-four centuries ago under the avenue leading up to Hatshepsut's Temple. The very first part of the tomb which we saw was the cones, set firmly in mortar above the façade in two rows, exactly as they had been placed by the Eleventh Dynasty tomb builders, and if we count in the fallen ones which we eventually found below, there cannot be any doubt that originally they made a frieze right across the top of the tomb (figs. 4-5). If we were

³Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, p. 45, pl. XXI.

to hazard another guess now as to what these cones represent, we might suggest that they are the ends of the poles or logs of the roof of an ancient Egyptian house—a far cry from loaves of bread, and rather

and drove his gang as the taskmasters of Pharaoh had driven the Chosen People. Down they went until they struck a neatly bricked-up doorway and that night they slept on the spot to guard their find. Early

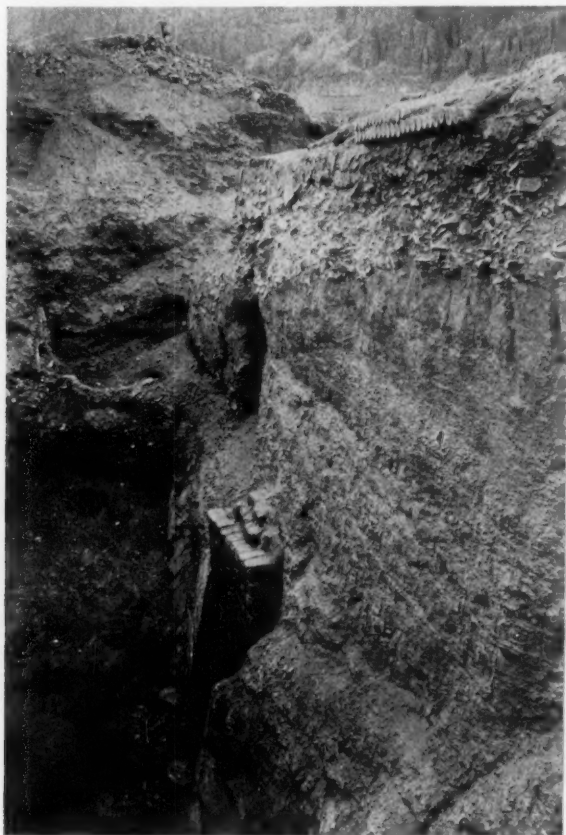


FIG. 5. THE FAÇADE OF A TOMB WITH A FRIEZE OF TERRACOTTA CONES ABOVE. XI DYNASTY

an extreme example of the process of trial and error which must so often be followed in solving archaeological problems.

Incidentally this tomb provided us with one of those blank disappointments that so often leave the digger flat.

As soon as we found the top of the tomb buried as it was under Hatshepsut's embankment, we knew that, barring a tunnel from behind, no one could have been inside since the Eighteenth Dynasty. The head man saw the point as quickly as anybody,

the following morning began the most orthodox ritual of archaeology. Deliberately we photographed the walled-up door; methodically we drew plans and sections in such detail that every brick could have been duplicated, and then most gingerly we took down the wall. The bricks themselves had shown us, by their size and their texture, that they were of the Eighteenth Dynasty and therefore we did not expect to find the Eleventh Dynasty tomb furniture intact, but we did have every right to

expect a burial of Hatshepsut's time behind that well-built masonry.

And yet within there was nothing but a mess of broken bones and coffins kicked around in confusion in every direction. Far from protecting a hidden treasure, the careful blocking-up of that tomb door could only have been done with the purpose of stopping a few baskets of dirt from running inside and being lost when the avenue embankment was heaped up above.



FIG. 6. LIMESTONE STELA
XI DYNASTY

However, a number of smaller antiquities had survived among these tombs at the bottom of the hill, wherever the thieves had been least thorough and, more important, wherever the floods had been least destructive, for many of them on lower ground had served as catch basins for the torrential rains that occasionally burst over the desert. Sometimes we found the gravestone with the owner's portrait on it (fig. 6); sometimes his wife's little colored grass basket, just like those still sold in Assuan (fig. 7), or her boxes of alabaster perfume bottles (fig. 9).

A wooden pillow would perhaps scarcely deserve mention, since they are so well known, if it had not been so remarkably preserved (fig. 8). At first thought it is



FIG. 7. COLORED GRASS BASKET
XI DYNASTY

hard to conceive of anybody sleeping with his head propped up on such a hard contraption, but so skilfully was this one shaped that it is really quite comfortable and in the heat of an Egyptian summer must have been much cooler than one of feathers. We tried it and found that it was

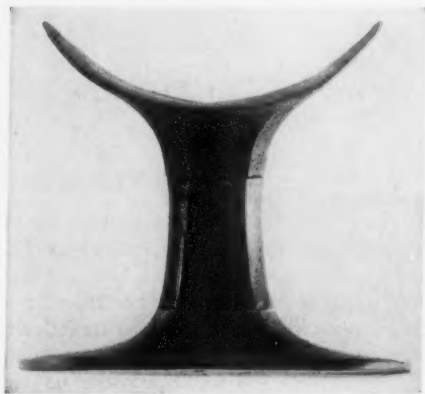


FIG. 8. WOODEN PILLOW. XI DYNASTY

not bad at all—provided you did not pinch your ear with it.

While we are on the toilet-sets and the pillows of the Eleventh Dynasty, it may be worth while to mention two little objects which shed other lights on contempo-

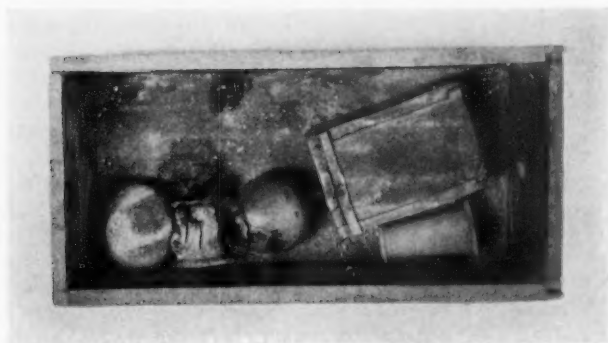


FIG. 9. PERFUME BOTTLE BOXES. XI DYNASTY

rary Theban life, retrieved from the rubbish that had accumulated in our magazines during the clearing of the tombs of the nobles high up on the hillside.

With a little game-board (fig. 10) we get an echo of one of the crazes which



FIG. 10. GAME-BOARD. XI DYNASTY

civilized man takes up, goes through, and then drops forever. It is the story of mah-jong four thousand years ago. Here we have a game suddenly appearing in Egypt at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. It was played into the Twelfth Dynasty and its peculiar little boards are found from Palestine as far east as Susa in just the same period. Then suddenly it disappears forever. The finest board ever found is the delightful ivory one discovered by Lord Carnarvon in a Twelfth Dynasty Theban tomb, and recently acquired by the Metro-

politan Museum with his collection. Perhaps the oldest is this one from our own excavations. That it had been a great favorite of its owner can be seen in the way the holes in which the pegs were moved have been worn out all along one side until a patch had to be put in to renew them.

Other distractions were provided for the ancient Theban noble by his dancing girls. In a previous report there was mentioned a little faience figure of a tattooed dancing girl found in the tomb of Neferhotep.⁴ When we got a chance to clean and mend some sadly broken little figures from a nearby tomb we gained a further fact of unexpected interest (fig. 11). These figures obviously represent negro slave girls from far up the Nile, jet black and wearing strange skirts covered with barbarous designs in gaudy colors and many colored beads around their foreheads and necks. Derry had already noticed that the features of the tattooed dancing girls buried in Mentuhotep's Temple showed marked Nubian traits and that Nubian blood had probably flowed through the veins even of such ladies of the King's harim as Aashaït and Henhenit. Furthermore, the pictures of Aashaït on her sarcophagus gave her a rich chocolate Nubian complexion and her companion Kemsit was painted on hers an actual ebony black, just like these little figures.

It is evident that from above Assuan must have come many a girl in Mentuhotep's palace and their dusky sisters have been beguiling Oriental potentates ever since. There was that mediaeval negress, Shagret ed Durr—"String of Pearls"—who came out of the Mameluke harim to defend Egypt successfully against the crusade of Saint Louis, and who made and murdered sultans to her heart's content, until she herself was finished off. More of our own day—and less romantic—was the little black-skinned concubine of the Khedive Ismail whom Verdi and Mariette were commanded to take as their inspiration for the heroine of "Aïda" when that opera was turned out to order for the open-

⁴BULLETIN, December, 1923, part II, p. 20, fig. 15, and p. 26, fig. 20.

ing of the Suez Canal in 1871. That Mentuhotep should have had his "String of Pearls" and his "Aida"—and that his nobles should have followed his example—would account for more than a trace of brunette complexion in the Theban aristocracy of four thousand years ago.

A little wooden box with an ingenious fastening (fig. 12) suggests a picture which contrasts most incongruously with the harims of the Eleventh Dynasty. We found it among the rubbish from one of the tombs above the Deir el Bahri temples in which a certain Pleine the Less, a disciple of that revered and austere early Christian anchorite, Epiphanius, had sought refuge from the flesh and the devil about A.D. 620.⁵ When he left, he threw away the box in such a filthy state that it was only after laborious cleaning that we discovered what it was.

Far grimmer than games and dancing girls was the next glimpse of the Eleventh Dynasty which we got from these same hillside tombs.

In the spring of 1923, just at the end of the season, our men had uncovered the door of a tomb in the row where the grandees of Mentuhotep's court had been buried. Since it was directly above the court of the temple, next to the tomb of Khety the Chancellor, its position must have been regarded as enviable in its day, and having been completely buried under a landslide from the cliff above, it had clearly never been entered in modern times. However, hopes were blasted as usual at the first glance into the dark interior, when it was seen that the place had been completely plundered ages ago, and had been left strewn with torn linen rags among which had been callously thrown a ghastly heap of robbed and mutilated bodies. There seemed very little likelihood that the thieves had left anything for us, and as our season was over anyway, we had sealed the tomb up again until some more favorable chance arose for the extremely disagreeable job of examining it carefully.

By this last spring we had finished every other tomb in the neighborhood. The one next west, and another directly below by

⁵ Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, vol. I, p. 20.

the temple wall, had both turned out to be multiple burying-places. They were really catacombs, each with a corridor which had been lengthened from time to time as little independent tombs had been tunneled off to either side. In the one by the temple wall we had found a piece of linen marked with the name of Queen



FIG. 11. NEGRO DANCING GIRLS
XI DYNASTY

Neferu, just as the linen found in her own tomb had been. As the Queen's tomb was some little distance away, it did not seem probable that this bit of linen could have strayed in here, and we came to the conclusion that these peculiar catacombs were intended for the dependents of the royal family and that one of these dependents had been given, or had otherwise acquired, his or her linen from the Queen's linen chest.

The one hasty examination which we had made of the resealed tomb had shown that, so far as arrangement went, it was a third catacomb of the same type. That

made, then, two of these multiple burial-places in the row with the private tombs of such dignitaries as Khety, Meru, Ipy, and Horhotep, and a third right by the temple wall, curiously suggestive of cheap apartment houses squeezed into a restricted residential neighborhood. To open the sealed-up tomb seemed worth while, therefore, if only to study its plan.

The month-long Mohammedan fast of

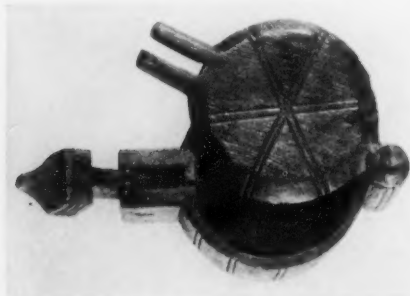


FIG. 12. WOODEN BOX. COPTIC PERIOD

Ramadan was upon us in March this year, and we had kept on only a small gang of men for just such jobs as this. The tomb was re-opened and all of its gruesome tenants brought outside while Hauser measured and planned the crypts and corridor within. Not a single object was discovered in the tomb and although about sixty bodies had been brought out, we found chips of no more than two or three cheap Eleventh Dynasty coffins. That the bodies were late seemed at first unquestionable. In the hot sun they were extraordinarily unpleasant—to put it mildly—and they had all the look of the dried-up corpses of Copts of whom many had been buried in the neighborhood in the days of

Epiphanius. Still, there was something not quite Coptic about the bandages, and the men were told to start early in the cool of the next morning, sorting out the linen which the thieves had ripped off of the bodies, to see if by any chance any of it was marked. It seemed unlikely, but to assure a conscientious search a bakshish was offered to any man who should discover a bit of inscription.

By seven o'clock next morning the men were down at the house with some thirty bits of marked linen and by noon the number had been doubled. What we never expected had happened. Here were sixty-two absolutely typical examples of Eleventh Dynasty linen marks, with such familiar names as Ameny, Sebekhotep (fig. 13), Sebeknakht, Intef, Intefoker, Mentuhotep, and Senwosret, and most striking—and also most numerous, for half of the marked bandages bore it—was a curious, enigmatic ideogram which we had already found on the bandages of Aashait and the women of Mentuhotep's harim (fig. 14). Furthermore, only a few weeks before, we had recognized the same mark engraved on a chisel dropped by some stone-cutter in the catacomb tomb at the bottom of the hill (fig. 15), and we had concluded that it must have denoted property of the royal necropolis, or of its dead, in the reign of Mentuhotep III. After all, then, the sixty corpses in the tomb were four thousand years old, preserved in that dry hermetically sealed underground corridor in an unbelievable way.

From the point of view of physical anthropology the find had attained an unexpected importance. Of all of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs that we had dug, nearly every one had been plundered, had been re-used in later times, and then been plundered again, until it was impossible, generally, to tell whether the bones which we found in them were of the Eleventh Dynasty or later. The result was that we had obtained a disappointingly small amount of information on what physical manner of men had descended from Thebes about 2000 B.C., conquered Memphis, and started the second great period of Egyptian culture. Here, however, were sixty individ-

uals definitely of the very race we wanted to know about, and an urgent telegram was sent off to Derry to come up from Cairo to examine them.

As soon as Derry, Brewster, and I started in on our study, the first and most obvious thing which we remarked about these bodies was the simplicity in which they had been buried. As we had already seen, probably no more than two or three could have had coffins and in the crypts the rest

and even all at the same time. Moreover, all were men, and as Derry's examination proceeded they turned out to be remarkably vigorous men, every one in the prime of life. We found none who showed any signs of immaturity and only one whose hair was even streaked with gray. Another curious point was that there did not seem to have been a single shaven head among the lot. On the contrary, every one of these men had a thick mop of hair, bobbed



FIG. 13. LINEN MARKED SEBEKHOTEP, SON OF AMENY
SON OF SEBEKHOTEP. XI DYNASTY

must have been stacked up like cord-wood with no other covering than their linen wrappings. These last, where enough had been left by the thieves to judge, seem to have averaged no more than some twenty layers of sheets and bandages, which are less than one may expect to find on even a middle-class body of the period. As our examination went on, this same hurried cheapness became evident in the embalming—or perhaps more accurately lack of embalming, for at the most little could have been done to these bodies beyond a scouring off with sand, and we differed among ourselves even as to that.

The second striking point was the absolute similarity these bodies bore, one to another. So far as we could see, all of them had been buried under identical conditions

off square at the nape of the neck as on the contemporary statuettes of soldiers from Assiut. Sometimes it was curled and oiled in tight little ringlets all over the head.

However, it was broiling hot, Derry's time was short, and ahead of us lay a long unpleasant task. We were wasting no time on theories, therefore, and had methodically measured the first nine bodies when the tenth was put on the table and Brewster noticed an arrow-tip sticking out of its chest.

Physical anthropology immediately lost its interest, and another unexpected chapter was added to the story of the tomb. Up to that time our work-tent had been a mere laboratory. From this moment onward it took on some of the gruesomeness

of a field dressing station—only the front was four thousand years away.

Before we were done, we had identified a dozen arrow wounds and we felt certain that we had missed many others (figs. 17, 19). So neat and small were they that they would easily pass unnoticed in the

vultures or ravens, and that could hardly have happened except on a battlefield.

Obviously what we had found was a soldiers' tomb. To judge from the cheapness of their burial they were only soldiers of the rank and file and yet they had been given a catacomb presumably prepared



FIG. 14

FIG. 14. LINEN MARKED WITH AN IDEOGRAM. XI DYNASTY

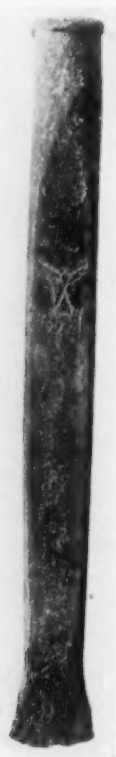


FIG. 15

FIG. 15. STONE-CUTTER'S CHISEL MARKED WITH AN IDEOGRAM. XI DYNASTY

dried and shriveled skin except in those cases where some fragment of the arrow had been left in the bodies. Of head wounds we noted twenty-eight and again we felt that others were probably lost in the rough handling of the ancient thieves (figs. 16, 18). But even so, we had seen two thirds as many wounds as there were bodies and we felt justified in concluding that every one of these sixty men had met a violent end. This seemed especially likely when we discovered that six of the bodies on which no wound was visible to us had been torn by

for dependents of the royal household, next to the tomb of the Chancellor Khety. Clearly that was an especial honor. If we were right in supposing that all had been buried at once, they must have been slain in a single battle. Considering the especial honor paid them it would follow that this fight must have been one which meant much to King Mentuhotep. To us, unfortunately, lacking a single line of inscription from the tomb—for the linen marks tell us nothing beyond the date—it was only a nameless battle of the dim past.

And yet, without unduly stretching our imaginations, we can see how it was fought.

It was not a hand-to-hand encounter. We saw nothing that looked like dagger or spear stabs; none of the slashes which must have been inflicted by battleaxes, and no arms or collar bones smashed by clubs, as one might expect from fighting at close quarters. Many of the head wounds—for the moment we will omit a certain class of crushing blows on the left side of the skull—were small depressed fractures in the forehead and face such as would be given by smallish missiles descending from above. From the same direction must have come several arrows which found their marks at the base of the neck and penetrated vertically downward through the chest, or one which entered the upper arm and passed down the whole length of the forearm to the wrist. Such would have been the wounds received by men storming a castle wall, and with this clue to guide us we had only to turn to the contemporary pictures of sieges at Deshasheh and Beni Hasan. The defenders line the battlements armed with bows and arrows, with slings and with handfuls of stones. The attackers rush up to the walls with scaling ladders, or crouch beneath them with picks, endeavoring to sap the defenses under a rain of missiles falling on their heads and shoulders, only precariously protected by their companions' shields.

It must have been during an assault on a fortress, then, that our unknown soldiers fell, under a shower of sling-shots on heads protected by nothing but a mass of hair, or with lungs and hearts pierced by arrows aimed at their uncovered shoulders. The fire had been too hot, and their fellows had scampered away out of range, but not without some of them being overtaken by the storm of arrows. One of them had been hit in the back just under the shoulder blade by an arrow which had transfixed his heart and projected some eight inches straight out in front of his chest. He had pitched forward, headlong on his face, breaking off the slender ebony arrow-tip in his fall, and the ragged end between his ribs was found by us all clotted with his blood. It was only after he was dead that

those who gathered up his body had broken off the reed shaft sticking out of his back, for that end had no trace of blood upon it.

With the attack beaten off there had followed the most barbarous part of an ancient battle. The monuments to Egyptian victories always show the king clubbing his captives in the presence of his god, and the battle pictures show the Egyptian soldiers searching out the wounded to despatch them. Usually they grab the fallen



FIG. 16. BLOWS ON THE LEFT FOREHEAD AND RIGHT CHEEK OF A SLAIN SOLDIER. XI DYNASTY

by the hair and dragging them half upright, club or stab them, and as they swing their clubs with their right hands their blows fall upon the left sides of their victims' faces and heads. We recognized at least a dozen who had been mercilessly done to death in this way. One of the wounded had fallen unconscious from a sling-shot which had hit him over the eye, another had been stunned by an arrow which had all but penetrated one of the sutures of his skull, and a third probably lay helpless from loss of blood ebbing from the arteries in his arm torn by an arrow. None of those need have been fatal wounds. Lying helpless, the poor

wretches had had the life clubbed out of them with crushing, murderous blows on the left sides of their cheeks and heads, battering away nearly all semblance of humanity. Evidently, as soon as the attackers had retired out of range, a party had made a sortie from the castle to mop up the battlefield, and when the last breathing being had been finished off, their bodies had been left lying beneath the walls to be worried and torn by the waiting vultures and ravens. The ghastly evidence of their work was plain enough to see and

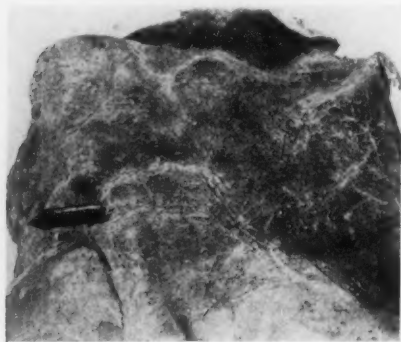


FIG. 17. ARROW IN THE SHOULDER OF A SLAIN SOLDIER, XI DYNASTY

the ancient pictures of the carrion birds devouring the slain were made only too real by these mangled corpses.

Unquestionably a second attack on the castle had been successful or these bodies never could have been recovered for burial in Thebes. Furthermore, the reed arrows with ebony tips used by the defenders show that the castle was in Egypt, and we know that no part of Egypt successfully resisted King Mentuhotep. Was it the stronghold of some noble who rebelled against Thebes after the conquest of the Two Lands? Or were these sixty soldiers especially honored because they fell in the assault of the last refuge of the defeated Heracleopolitan king of Memphis?

So far as one can see at present such questions will never be answered except in the unlikely event that the arrows themselves may give a clue.

Of Theban bows and arrows we have found a great number. Every one of the

great nobles had enough to equip a whole bodyguard piled up in the crypt of his tomb, and of the lesser fry buried at the bottom of the hill each had his single bow and set of arrows beside him in his coffin. The bow was always of the long type with a twisted gut cord simply hitched around either tip. The arrow had a shaft of reed with three feathers, and a tip of ebony some eight or nine inches long, almost invariably pointed with a chisel edge of flint set in cement (fig. 21). Of the ebony arrow-tips used by the defenders of the castle, remarkably enough, not one had a flint point (fig. 20)—and yet they had been driven as cleanly into a man's body as one drives a nail into a pine board. Perhaps, some day, we may discover whether there was any particular part of Egypt where it was usual to dispense with the flint points, and if so, we will be a long way toward knowing where this battle took place. Apparently it was not near Thebes, at any rate.

Another glimpse of King Mentuhotep, like the battle picture vivid in some of its details but tantalizingly vague in others, had come to us in the season of 1925-26.

We had no gang of workmen to tie us down to a daily routine at that time, and the chance to follow the Eleventh Dynasty away from Thebes seemed too good to be missed. We knew that there were two graffiti at Assuan and a rock carving at the Shatt er Rigaleh, and it seemed to Newberry and me that if we could get a look at them, our Deir el Bahri work might give us some useful clues as to their interpretation.

With the Assuan graffiti we had no luck whatever. We knew that they were records left on the rocks at the foot of the cataract by the Chancellor Khety and the Controller of the Eastern Heliopolitan Nome, whose name might be read Mery, when they were there in the 41st Year of Mentuhotep's reign supervising a river expedition to the Sudan. But after hours of climbing among the rocks where they were said to be, we had to give up the search, feeling fairly certain that one of them at least had been destroyed not long before by some miserable peasant looking for rock to build a new house. After four thousand



FIG. 18. GLANCING BLOW ON THE CROWN (A) AND BLOW OVER THE RIGHT EYE (B)
OF A SLAIN SOLDIER. XI DYNASTY



FIG. 19. ARROW IN THE LEFT EYE
OF A SLAIN SOLDIER. XI DYNASTY

years it seems rather an ignominious end for the memorial of a high dignitary.

The Shatt er Rigaleh rock carving has already been mentioned in one of these BULLETIN reports as portraying King Mentuhotep, his mother Iah (who was probably the mother of Queen Neferu as well), Intef (who was presumably the Crown

send him off with tents, tent strikers, and a cook, and orders to find a picture of a king and a queen with two people standing in front of them and to pitch camp beside it. We followed a couple of days later.

It was a desolate spot. Just to the south, the Nile breaks through a spur of the desert hills called the Gebel Silsileh, eddying and swirling against the low, naked, sandstone cliffs. Every mile or so a small arid valley cuts through the hills from the higher desert to the west, and at its mouth forms a narrow, sandy bottom and a few yards of thorny fields or space for a little grove of palms or scrubby acacia trees. Only in these valley mouths was there room to pitch a camp and it was to one of them that Gilani led us (fig. 22).

Stopping only to drop our few belongings into a tent, Newberry and I turned to the little valley behind it. A few steps from the river edge and we were on a flat floor of sand with the dark brown sandstone rocks rising abruptly on either hand. A few more paces, and there, high up on a rock on our left, stood King Mentuhotep, life-size, and his mother Iah, facing up the little valley toward Prince Intef and Chancellor Khety, who were approaching from the direction of the desert (fig. 23.). We were taken completely by surprise. Somehow, we had expected to see a small, rather insignificant sketch hastily scratched on the rock, and we found ourselves gazing up at a magnificent monument, the work of professional sculptors who must obviously have labored for days on the cliff face, carving a memorial for some event of unusual importance.

As we made our way up the little valley, we came to a second stela forty or fifty yards beyond—lower down on the rock and smaller, but quite as well carved. This time the Chancellor Khety alone appeared before his sovereign. Still walking desertwards we noticed all along the southern, shady side of the little valley names scribbled everywhere. We must have seen fully two hundred graffiti before we got to a great sand dune that blocked our path about half a mile up from the valley mouth. There they stopped abruptly.

After a quick lunch we went back for a



FIG. 20. ARROW TIPS EXTRACTED FROM THE WOUNDS OF THE SLAIN SOLDIERS XI DYNASTY

Prince), and the Chancellor Khety.⁶ Neither Newberry nor I had ever seen it except in publications. In fact, very few archaeologists seem ever to have visited the Shatt er Rigaleh, a most out-of-the-way little valley seventy-five miles above Thebes, across the river from the railway and far from any of the steamer landings. We could only explain its position vaguely to our head man, Gilani Suleyman, and

⁶BULLETIN, December, 1924, part II, p. 12.

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more careful look. We had just reexamined the big stela and were passing on to the little one when midway between them we noticed a group of some ten bold, well-carved inscriptions above us on the rock (fig. 24). Notebook in hand we were scrambling up over the boulders to get a closer view when whose name should strike us but that of the Mehenkwetre of the tomb with the model boats and gardens and shops found by us in Thebes some years before. And to say that

son Dagi; the Superintendent of Sculptors, Woseroner's son Intef; and the Follower Sebekhotepu were strangers to us, but since their names were carved in the same large, careful hieroglyphics and in the same restricted group between the two stelae, we took it for granted that they were contemporary.⁷

Each of these inscriptions was carefully and painstakingly carved by skilled workmen—doubtless the subordinates of the



FIG. 21. THEBAN BOWS AND ARROWS. XI DYNASTY

the name struck us is no exaggeration, it came upon us so unexpectedly here. A moment later we recognized the Chancellor of the North and Governor of the Eastern Desert, Meru, whose tomb we had cleared at Deir el Bahri not far from that of the Chancellor Khety. Nearby there were the names of Hepety, First under the King; Yay, Scribe of the Royal Archives; and Khety, Lector and Chief Scribe of the Holy Writings, all of whom were pictured among Mentuhotep's courtiers in the Deir el Bahri Temple. Close at hand was the name of a Mery (here called "Binder of the King's Region in all His Seats," whatever that may mean) who may have been the Mery who went with Khety to Assuan in the 41st Year. The Governor of the Northland, Itu; the Herald of the King, Mahesa's

Chief Sculptor Intef whose name was among them. Each name was preceded by high court titles and nearly every one was followed by the phrase "truly beloved" or "truly favored by his Lord." If we include the smaller stela of the Chancellor Khety as among these inscriptions, three names were those of identified owners of tombs in the Mentuhotep Cemeteries at Thebes, three more were names inscribed in the Mentuhotep Temple, and a seventh name was perhaps that of a Mentuhotep courtier at Assuan.

Still another thing tended to make one group of these inscriptions. The two stelae bounded them to east and west, and looking more closely we found that just before the

⁷See Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, nos. 448, 455-56, 459, 463, 468, 472-74, 486-87.

first stela and just beyond the second, someone had carved in tall hieroglyphics "Year 39," bracketing as it were both stelae and inscriptions. Nothing had been added to show what the date applied to, but it is more than probable that it was that of the stelae and the names between them. Khety, we know, was active in Assuan two years later, and perhaps the Mery of the Shatt er Rigaleh was the Mery who was in Assuan with Khety on that occasion. Meru has left a stela elsewhere dated to the 46th Year and Mehenkwetwre survived Mentuhotep and held high office under his successor. Thus at least three or four of the courtiers whose names we had identified belonged to Mentuhotep's old age and would have been active in the 39th Year of his reign.

Without doubt many of the other graffiti in the Shatt er Rigaleh name the lesser fry in the trains of King Mentuhotep and his nobles. The rocks were scribbled over by innumerable other Mentuhoteps, Intefs, Ipys, Khetys—and even a Mehenkwet among them—all names common in the Eleventh Dynasty. But they were just such scribbles as any passer-by might scratch on the rocks for himself, and as they were not professional carvings we could not differentiate them from those of later visitors. Of these latter there seems to have been a continuous procession for the next five hundred years, from the reign of Sankhkare at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty to that of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth, and few of them seem to have been able to resist the temptation of adding their names to the crowd already there.

We were up the little valley as long as the light lasted, and were back again after dinner in the dark, for we found that some of the faintest of the graffiti could be made quite legible with electric flashlights after nightfall. And finally when we came back to bed, it was a long time before we could sleep, trying to puzzle out what under the sun could have brought the court of Mentuhotep to this desolate, out-of-the-way spot where our tent was pitched.

In the first place it could have had nothing to do with the quarrying which was so actively pursued in this region in ancient

times. The Shatt er Rigaleh valley seems to have been the one spot in the neighborhood where no stone was ever cut. And in any case we should have to find something more imposing than the opening of a quarry to account for the presence of Mentuhotep himself, his presumably aged mother, the Crown Prince Intef, the great Chancellor Khety, at least ten other great grandees of the court, and an uncertain number of lesser followers. Whatever the occasion, it had to be one in which the chief actor after the royalties themselves was the Chancellor Khety and it was only natural to cast around in Khety's career for some clue. Two years later he and Mery were in charge of an expedition to the Sudan—how would such an expedition fit here?

Almost due west across the desert from us lay the southernmost tip of Khargeh Oasis, at a distance which could be covered in three days' marching time from water to water. Southwest of us, at two days' caravanning, lay the wells of Kurkur, a regular stopping-place on the desert roads to the Sudan. From Kurkur one could reach the Nile again at the bend near Amada in Upper Nubia in three days at the outside, or prolonging the desert trip from Kurkur through the little oases of Dungul and Selimeh one could easily descend into the Sudan between the Second and Third Cataracts. The Shatt er Rigaleh or any of the other little valleys nearby led up to the top of the rolling plateau, across which the natives of the neighborhood had said that the going was perfectly good, either to Khargeh or to Kurkur.

A desert expedition from this region was practical, then, and moreover it was very probable. The district of Gebel Silsileh and the Shatt er Rigaleh had been a favorite landfall for the nomads who crossed the desert wastes to the Nile Valley in very ancient times. For several miles along the river bank, northward from the Silsileh water-gap, the cliffs are covered with crude and primitive pictographs which are obviously more weathered and older than the Eleventh Dynasty carvings beside them. Their like is found at few places elsewhere along the Nile, but I have seen exactly the same type of thing two hundred

miles out in the desert between the Oases of Khargeh and Dakhleh, and Hassanein Bey has traced them much farther into the Sahara among the little-known oases of the far southwest. If these are records of desert trips made by the prehistoric Bedawin, we seem to have another of an expedition made by the Egyptians of historic times. Seven centuries after Mentuhotep, Harmhab chose the temple at Gebel Silsileh as the ap-

could picture how a rendezvous could have been set for the Nile banks just below Silsileh. As the date approached, the King and his courtiers would have sailed up river from Thebes and have moored their traveling boats to the river bank at the mouth of this little valley—Mehenkwtre among them in his dahabiyeh with a kitchen boat trailing on behind just as he is among the models in the Museum. On the bank where our



FIG. 22. THE MOUTH OF THE SHATT ER RIGALEH WITH A MAN STANDING BESIDE THE STELA OF MENTUHOTEP

propriate place to picture the return from a raid into the Sudan with all of the detail which we might expect if it had first re-entered Egypt at this very spot. Nor need it cause any surprise that, in preference to descending the river, the ancient Egyptians should sometimes have braved the desert roads to a neighborhood as far north as this. Until a generation ago the slave dealers from the Sudan followed the desert roads two hundred miles still farther north, all the way to Assiut.

The return of an Expedition from the Sudan under the Crown Prince Intef and the Chancellor Khety thus seemed a logical explanation of the presence at the Shatt er Rigaleh of Mentuhotep and his court. We

tents were pitched the pavilion of the King, with gilded poles and bright-colored hangings, may have been set up to shade the royal throne. Meantime, scouts sent out along the Kurkur road would have met the returning caravan on the high desert plateau and guided them to the head of the Shatt er Rigaleh and down it to the camp of the King. If so, then right where we lay, perhaps, Prince Intef and Khety had made their obeisance and reported on the success of their expedition in the south while their followers spread out the tribute they had collected from the barbarians. After that, all would have sailed in triumph down river to Thebes, leaving behind them only the Master Sculptor Intef (who doubt-

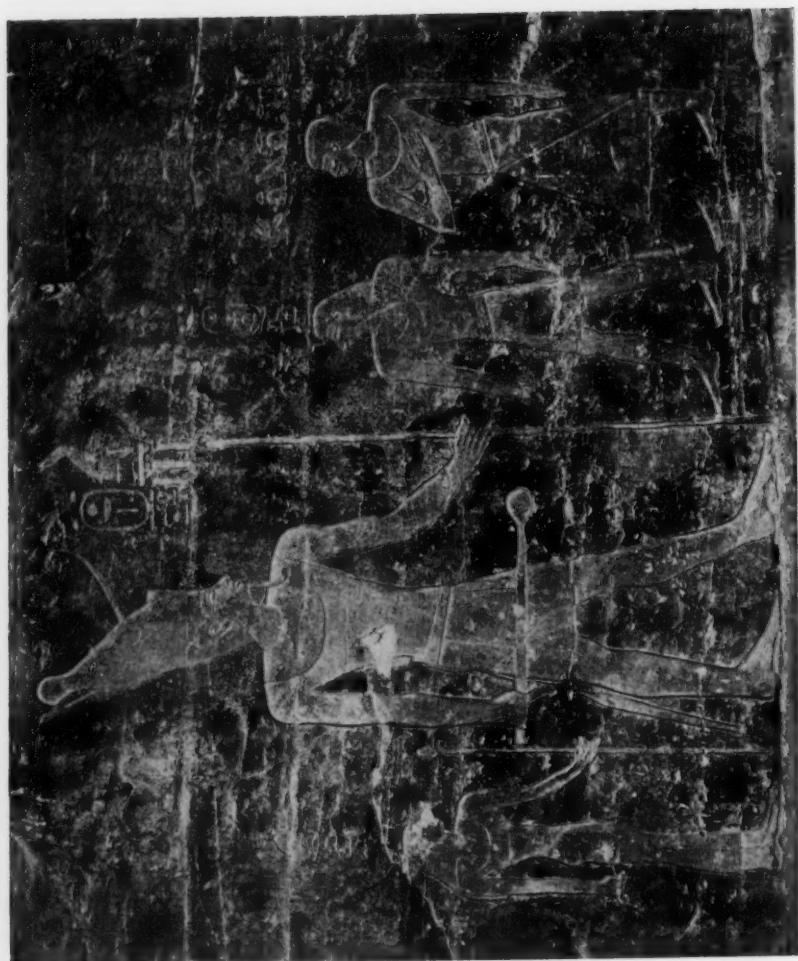


FIG. 23. THE STELA OF MENTUHOTEP IN THE SHATT ER RIGALEH



FIG. 24. INSCRIPTIONS OF MEHENKWETRE, MERU, AND OTHER NOBLES ON THE ROCKS OF THE SHATT ER RIGALEH

less had been brought for this very purpose) to carve a suitable memorial of the King's presence, and obviously before they left



FIG. 25. STATUE OF MENTU-
HOTEP III FROM THE TEMPLE
AVENUE, XI DYNASTY

each of the greater nobles had persuaded him to let his stone-cutters carve their names as well.

True enough, this picture is all guess-work, but it fits the facts as we saw them,

and seems to offer the most logical explanation of the Shatt er Rigaleh sculptures of which I know. If it is true, it is amusing to think that Khety's next expedition to the Sudan, two years later, went by water and not by desert.

Before leaving King Mentuhotep and his Chancellor some mutilated portraits of them from Deir el Bahri might be mentioned. In the course of our excavations we had frequently run across the queer, wooden-looking Osiride statues of the King, scores of which once stood at rigid attention all the way along the avenue up to his temple. Every one which we have found has been headless, and the few heads so far discovered have been sadly battered (fig. 26), but we found one which came close enough to fitting on a body to show what these statues had once been like (fig. 25). The fate of Khety's statues had been no luckier. There once had been numbers of wooden portraits of the Chancellor in his tomb, but today it is only in mutilated fragments that we can see Mentuhotep's great courtier (fig. 27).

II. THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY ABOUT 1500 B.C.

To say that a whole new chapter in the history of Deir el Bahri Temple began for us with influenza among our Arabs sounds like a bit of facetiousness—but it is an actual fact. At one time last winter both of our head men had fevers and hacking coughs which naturally did not improve in the dust fog hanging over the dig. It looked as though another day would see both of them definitely on the sick list and the only thing to do—short of stopping the work—seemed to be to try to save one of them at least by finding him a job out of the dust. The east wall of the Hatshepsut Temple court was to windward of the work for the time being, and as it had to be cleared some day, the Reis Hamid Mohammed was told to gather together a scratch gang and to make his job the clearing of the fallen stones that covered it. Within the first few hours, one of the gang had stumbled on a foundation deposit near the northeast corner of the wall, and from

it as a starting point I believe that we have accumulated fairly definite information on the date when Hatshepsut founded the temple and the plan on which it was started.

At first glance another foundation deposit promised to be the same old story for us. We had already found five of them in the temple courtyard in previous years and had even reconstructed one of them in the Museum.⁸ However, as soon as we began to clear this one we found that not

got 192 scarabs, every one as fine as those in the first lot. A trench was now dug along the entire wall and a third deposit unearthed at the north side of the gateway, with 11 more scarabs in it (point H). At this, the south side of the gateway was dug and redug throughout two days in a search for a corresponding deposit until finally, completely puzzled, we had to admit that there never could have been one there.

In a way it is amusing to think how many



FIG. 26. MENTUHOTEP III FROM A TEMPLE STATUE
XI DYNASTY

only had it turned up unexpectedly, but it turned out to contain an unexpected feature in addition to the usual objects—96 of the most perfect green-glazed steatite scarabs imaginable.

Here was a new and promising lead to follow up. Since we now had a foundation deposit about nine yards from the northeast corner of the courtyard (fig. 29, point I), it would seem reasonable to expect one at the same distance from the southeast corner. Fortunately, though, we put about twenty men to work over a fairly wide space, for the southeast deposit was directly under the corner of the court, and not where we had expected it (point G). This time we

of us in past years have missed these deposits with their scarabs. Naville seems to have cleared the temple gateway without seeing the one beside it. A trench dug by Lord Carnarvon missed the northern one by inches, and when we were digging the Mentuhotep courtyard a few years ago, we were just as close to the southern one. But the lot of the tourists has been even harder. Thousands of them have driven up to the temple, haggling for atrocious fake scarabs with a couple of aged ragamuffins who are far more ancient than the wares which they hawk as they run alongside of the carriages. Just as many a bargain has been concluded, the carriages have given one last, bone-shaking jolt, with the wheels bumping right into the gateway foundation deposit and

⁸BULLETIN, December, 1922, part II, p. 29; December, 1924, II, p. 16; March, 1926, II, p. 16.

its hoard of real scarabs only a foot or so below the surface.

Without much question this haul of scarabs is one of the most remarkable ever made. In fineness of cutting, in beauty, and in charm, they are clearly of the best lapi-



FIG. 27. FRAGMENTS OF A
STATUETTE OF KHETY
XI DYNASTY

dary work of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and most welcome additions to the collections both in Cairo and New York.

But it is their historical importance which struck us most forcibly. Of the 299 scarabs found in the three deposits, 153 give one or the other of the full names and the sonorous titles of Queen Hatshepsut—"The Horus, 'Mighty of Souls'; the Favorite of the Two Goddesses, 'Fresh in Years'; the Golden Horus, 'Divine of Diadems'; Sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Beautiful God, Mistress of the Two Lands,

'Maatkare,' beloved of Amon; the King's Daughter, Divine Consort, Great Royal Wife, Princess of the Two Lands, 'Khnumit-amon-Hatshepsut.' She lives eternally!" Only one fifth as many—to be exact, 31—were scarabs of "The Beautiful God, Menkheperre" (King Thutmose III). Of the "King's Daughter, King's Sister, and Divine Consort, Neferure" there were 18. The remaining 97 included 18 with invocations of Amon, and 2 with the name of Thutmose I—since Amon and Thutmose were to share the temple with Hatshepsut—and 77 with mottoes or with ornamental designs.

If there ever had been any doubt that it was Hatshepsut who founded the temple at Deir el Bahri, it should be dispelled by the proportion of her scarabs among those deposited on the founding day (fig. 28). Furthermore, we now have indisputable evidence that she founded it in the reign of Thutmose III—not in that of Thutmose II—and before the death of her daughter Neferure. Finally, the scarabs indicate a very early date in the reign of Thutmose III, for thirteen of them spell his prenomen "Menkheper-en-re" in the fashion current only during his first years on the throne.⁹

On this last point we can go still further with a bit of independent evidence found this last year. Covered, apparently, by the embankment where the temple avenue hid the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of the cones, we found a piece of a jar which had once contained preserved food, labeled "Year 7, Third Month of Winter, 15th Day." Since the road to the temple site would probably have been the first thing constructed, the foundation ceremony could not have taken place before the 7th Year—of Thutmose III, as the scarabs demonstrate. On the other hand, as preserved foods were probably not kept in mud-sealed jars for long, this jar had probably been thrown away and perhaps buried in the embankment soon after the 7th Year, just as we should expect from the early spelling of the name Menkheperenre.

So far we have arrived at the point of dating Hatshepsut's foundation of Deir el Bahri to about the 8th or 9th Year of the

⁹Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, p. 191.

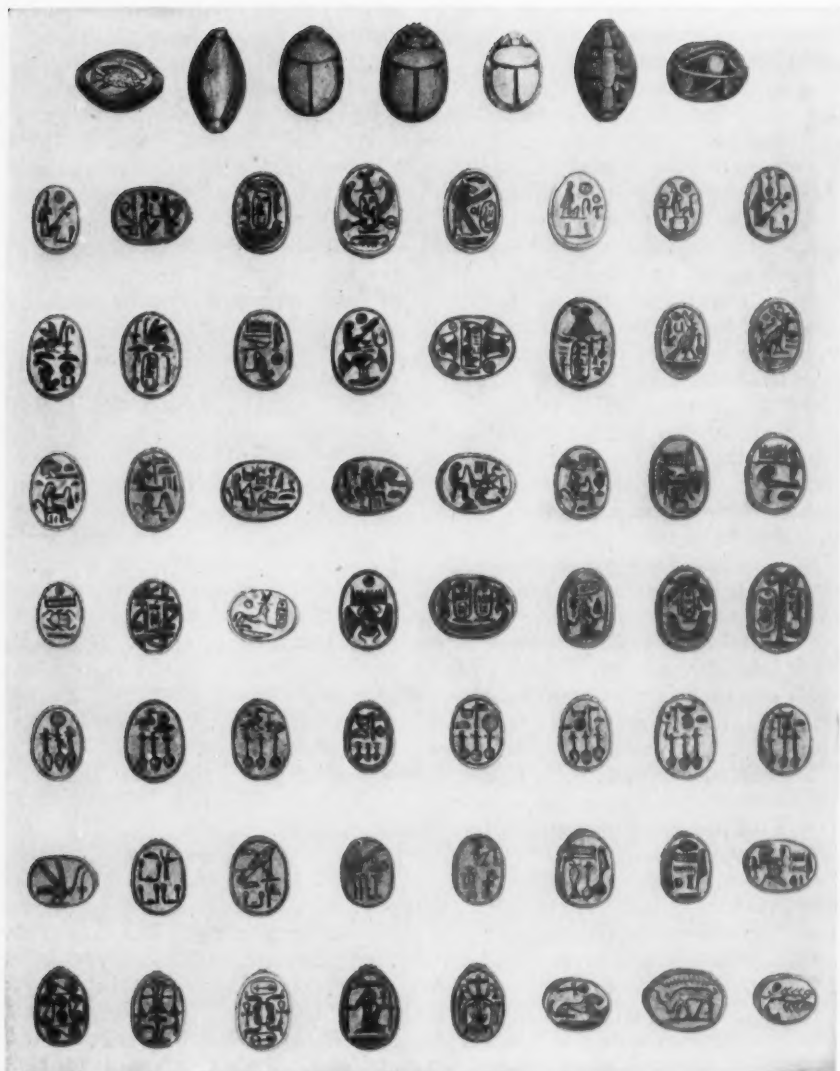


FIG. 28. SCARABS FROM THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF HATSHEPSUT'S TEMPLE
XVIII DYNASTY

reign of King Thutmose III, during the lifetime of Neferure. Now for the temple plan as it was first laid out.

The reader of the past reports in the BULLETIN may recall the other foundation deposits found by us. On the day of "the stretching of the cord," the architect had traced an outline of the projected building upon the ground, and the surveyors' lines had been drawn from point to point around it. At each important point and angle, a pit had been dug in which were deposited models of the tools that would be used in the building, and samples of the food which was to be the eternal provision for Hatshepsut and the god Amon in the finished temple. The similarity to our corner-stone layings is, of course, obvious.

Naturally the essential thing about foundation deposits is that they should mark important points on the plan. Nevertheless, when first Hauser surveyed these three new deposits and placed them on the plan of the temple as it had been built, they and the ones found in previous years had a most meaningless, haphazard look. Figure 29 shows this state of affairs. On it A is the deposit found by Naville years ago; B is the one found by us in 1922; C, D, E, and F are those which we found in 1924, and G, H, and I, the new deposits.

However, as time went on, certain combinations became evident. A, B, C, and G make an obvious southern boundary along the wall of the Mentuhotep courtyard, which, of course, was there when Hatshepsut's architect, Senmut, laid out her temple. Once this is seen, then F and I should mark the northern boundary and Hauser's plan showed that the line F-I was absolutely parallel to A-B-C-G. Hence it follows that Hatshepsut's north wall as built does not conform to the original plan of the foundation deposits, and this must of necessity be true of the whole temple which is oriented with it.

Furthermore, if the width of the court was to have been G-I (or C-F), another fact becomes evident. H—since it never had a companion deposit—must have marked the center of the gateway as first planned and yet it is north of the midway point between G and I, while the two obvious

ramp deposits D and E are south of the middle point between C and F. Here were striking similarities to the curious Mentuhotep Temple, of which the original plan had called for an enormous shield-shaped court (the dotted line in fig. 29) with an axis oriented nearly due east and west. This court plan had been changed when the direction of the avenue had been shifted to the southeast,¹⁰ without, however, moving the actual site of the temple pyramid. Revolving the plan had dislocated the original symmetry of the scheme, bringing the temple ramp to the south of the axis of the court and leaving the avenue gateway to the north. Hatshepsut's foundation deposits demonstrated that these two unsymmetrical features had at first been blindly copied by her architect, and a little elementary arithmetic sufficed to show that this copying had been mathematically exact. The center of Hatshepsut's ramp had been laid out relatively as far south of the center of her court, and her gateway relatively as far north, as the corresponding points in the Mentuhotep court. Furthermore, the solution of this problem developed a curious corollary. The measurements G-I, G-H, C-D, G-B, and G-A in each case stand in a ratio of $\frac{2}{3}$ to the corresponding measurements on the Mentuhotep Temple—a ratio which would have been quite practical to the Egyptian with his unit of measure a cubit divided into seven palms.

In the light of these facts the history of the plan of Deir el Bahri becomes fairly obvious. The change in the plan of the Mentuhotep Temple had left a large, triangular space to the north, walled in by an Eleventh Dynasty brick wall and vacant except for a little brick chapel built by Amenhotep I.¹⁰ When Hatshepsut and her architect, Senmut, planned to build a temple on the West of Thebes, the only imposing structure there was this Temple of Mentuhotep, the first Theban king of all Egypt. Its plan was their logical model, and the vacant space beside it an inviting building site. Clearly their ambitions did not, at first, rise to the point of attempting anything as large as the temple of the

¹⁰BULLETIN, December, 1924, part II, p. 14.

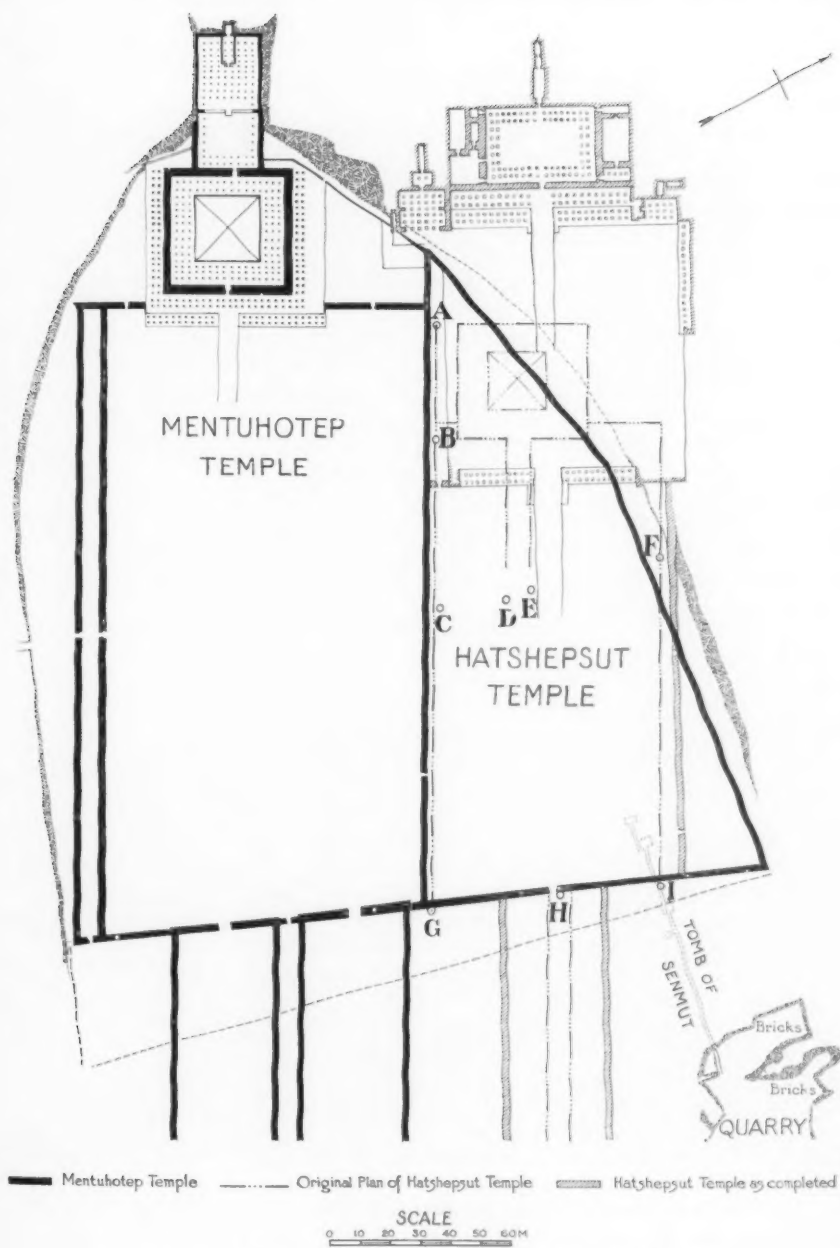


FIG. 29. PLAN OF THE TWO TEMPLES AT DEIR EL BAHRI

founder of Thebes, and they decided to restrict their building to the available graded space, "stretching the cord" for a building (shown by the dot-and-dash line in fig. 29) which copied absolutely all of the features of their model at 5 palms to the cubit.

Such were the original plans and specifications. But architects have changed no more in the last thirty-five centuries than have the rest of mankind. Before Senmut was finished he had built a temple of which the actual structure, not counting its courtyard, covered over three times the area called for in his original plan—making its floor over double that of Mentuhotep's temple—and had altered nearly every feature except the general scheme of terraces with colonnaded porches.

From this point on, Senmut became a very living person to us.

At the time that the Hatshepsut foundation deposits were found, the main gang of workmen were digging about seventy-five yards east of the temple enclosure near Cook's Rest House, where the tourists lunch. We knew that the mound on which the rest house stood was an enormous dump made by Naville when the Egypt Exploration Fund cleared the temple about thirty years ago, and we knew that it filled part of the ancient quarry from which Senmut had dug shale for the embankment of the temple avenue. East of the rest house the quarry still remained a deep, open hollow. Between the rest house and the temple there was a flat space of apparently natural desert. The west end of the quarry thus appeared to be under Naville's dump (fig. 30).

With over five hundred men and boys at work we discovered in a very short time how deceptive that bit of natural-looking desert was. Before we had found solid bottom the men had gone down from twenty-five to thirty feet below the surface. The fact was that the west end of the quarry was a very short distance from the temple wall (fig. 32), but that it had been filled up in ancient times with brick and rubbish upon which the thunderstorms that burst now and then over the desert had washed mud and gravel until all trace of it had been totally obliterated.

It was trying digging. The depth of the hole made the work slow (fig. 31). Days passed without finding a single thing. Then the men would come up against sheer-cut rock walls and, thinking that they were getting near a buried tomb, the work would hum for one day, only to take a slump the next when they found that they were merely clearing another bay in the quarry face.

Many of the broken bricks which made up a large proportion of the rubbish filling the northern side of the quarry (fig. 29) were stamped with the names of Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefretiry. Naturally they had been originally made for the little chapel which had stood at Deir el Bahri before Hatshepsut's day, but a number of considerations eventually made it evident that after Senmut had cleared away the little chapel, his engineers had re-used the bricks from it to erect the ramps and scaffolds that they needed for raising heavy stones in the new temple. In the first place, among the bricks in the quarry we found no Hathor votives, although it has been everyone's experience that such votives permeate every level at Deir el Bahri which was exposed during the use of the Hathor shrine in the temple.¹¹ This brick dump, therefore, antedated the opening of the temple. Secondly, there were none of the sculptors' trial sketches of which we had found such quantities in other rubbish dumps around the temple.¹² From this it would seem safe to conclude that the bricks had been dumped into the quarry even before the sculptors had begun their work on the temple decoration, encumbered as it had been up till then by the engineers' scaffolds. What we did find intimately mixed with these bricks—and hence dumped into the quarry with them—were a number of ostraca of which three or four referred to Senmut. Two were fragments of wine jar labels of the Year 10 of Thutmose III bearing Senmut's title and name, and another bore the caption "Year 16, First Month of Inundation, 8th Day. Separating the servants of Senmut under two headings," followed by a list of people. Hence

¹¹ BULLETIN, December, 1923, Part II, p. 38.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 33.

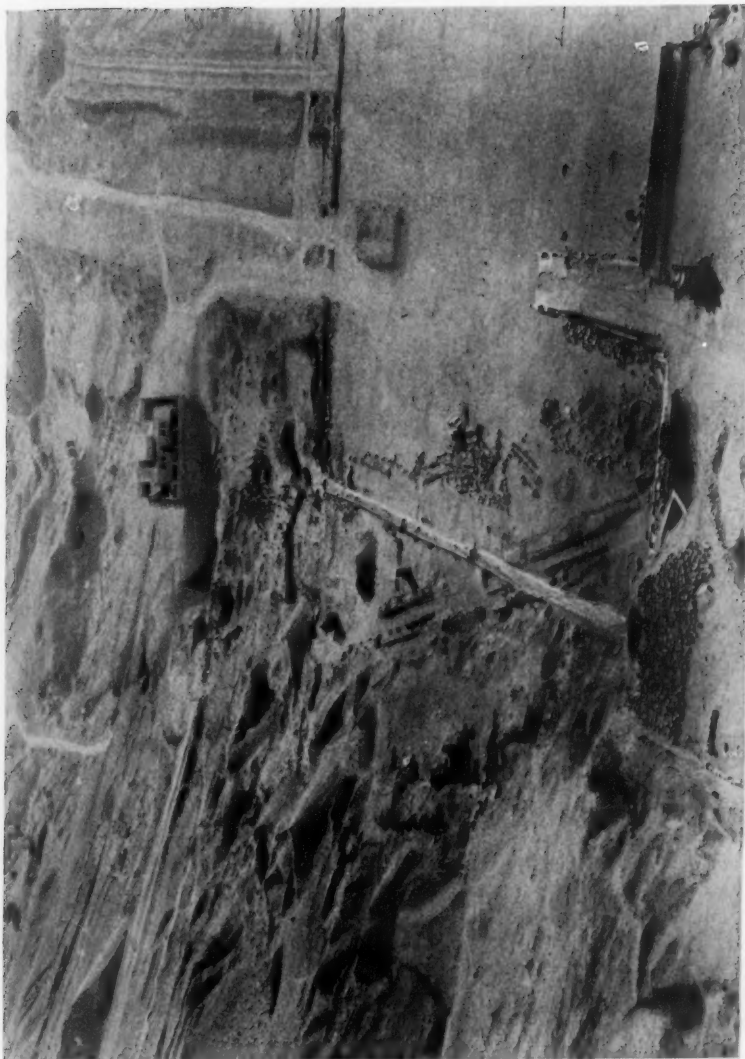


FIG. 30. BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1926-27. THE HATSHEPSUT TEMPLE COURT IN THE FOREGROUND, COOK'S REST HOUSE BEYOND, WITH PART OF SENMUT'S QUARRY SHOWING BEHIND IT

at least part of this brick could not have been dumped into the quarry before the 16th Year. On the other hand, the decorations of the lower porches of the temple show the obelisks erected by Hatshepsut at Karnak in the 16th Year and, of course, could not have been carved before that date. The coincidence gave us a sufficiently striking confirmation of our conclusion that the bricks had been used in the builders'

charge of that particular part of the work, had some story about the dirt having slipped down alongside of the quarry face under the feet of his men in the southwest corner—but then he, like all the rest of us, had had lots of inspirations that had come to nothing. Still, a day or two later, two little brick walls were unearthed in that very spot, near the bottom of the quarry and pointing in toward the quarry face.



FIG. 31. CLEARING SENMUT'S QUARRY WEST OF COOK'S REST HOUSE

scaffolds, and dated the removal of the last of them, perhaps, and the beginning of part of the work of the sculptors to the 16th Year, or shortly thereafter.

Such facts were extremely interesting, but it was a question whether or not that hole would ever repay the heartbreaking job of emptying it of broken bricks and rubbish. If we had not found so many objects at Deir el Bahri which others had missed by inches, we would probably have given up the job instead of sticking to it, week after week, to the bitter end. And of course virtue was duly rewarded in the best Sunday School style or there would be no more to this narrative.

One evening the Reis Gilani, who was in

There was no use getting too hopeful, but at the same time it seemed worth while to stick around that part of the work and to send home for an electric torch, preserving all the while as much of an air of indifference as it was possible to put on. The men, even, tried to assume the same air and seemed almost afraid to utter a single word that might change their luck, but the sweat with which they were dripping, their short sharp breathing, and the way they hurled the baskets of dirt up to the carrying boys gave them away. Then at last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, somebody's hoe started up a little puff of dust against the rock face, a stone rolled down out of sight, tinkling away into a dark hole which sud-

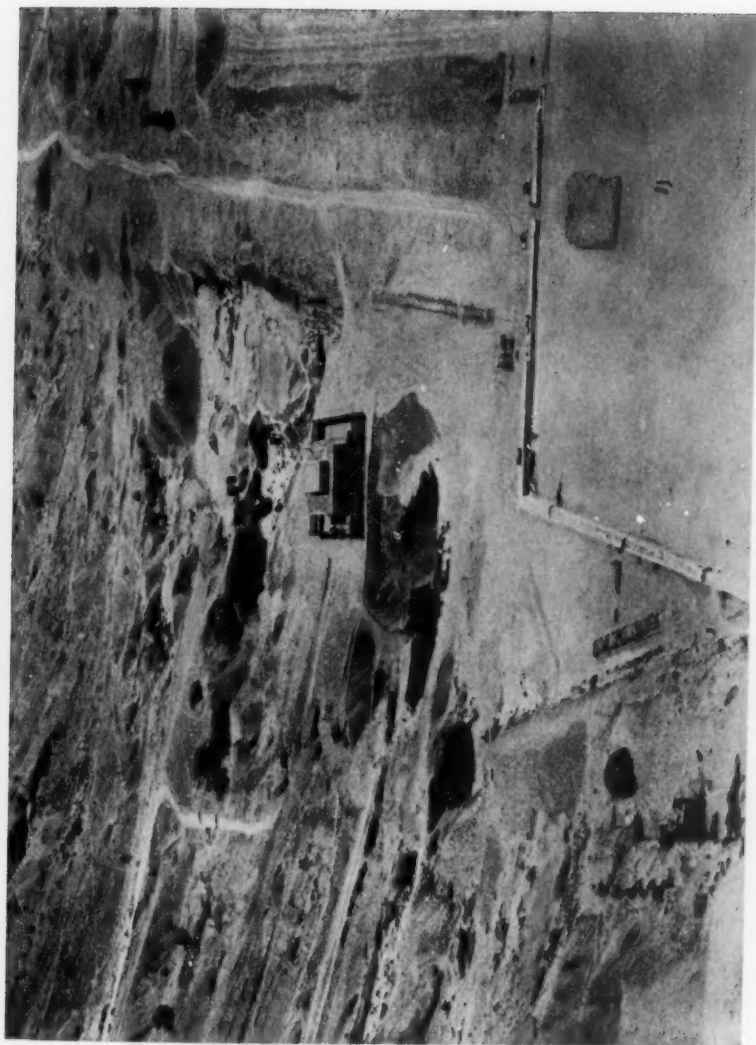


FIG. 32. AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1926-27. SENMUT'S QUARRY SHOWING ON BOTH SIDES OF
COOK'S REST HOUSE

denly opened under foot—and we had found something in that quarry after all.

I stopped the digging and gently widened the little hole enough to get in my torch. Inside it was very dark. Carefully I took away a little more dirt and stuck my head in and waited for my eyes to get used to the blackness. My shoulders were inside of a narrow doorway. In front of me I could see steps, down which a few bits of brick and stone had rolled, descending into a gloom on which the torch made no impression at all (fig. 33). It was important to know what was ahead of us, so I had a little more dirt scraped away and crawled inside. Throwing the light under foot to make sure that I was not stepping on anything, I started slowly down. One thing, that only occurred to me afterwards, was how cool and fresh was the air which had last been breathed by any human being thirty-four centuries ago.

The one thing which was on my mind was to see what was in the darkness at the bottom of those steps, and down I went, but they seemed unending. After about forty-five or fifty yards there was an opening on my left. The torch showed a rough little empty chamber and the beam of light sparkled on a marvelous, eerie garden of pure white, feathery salt crystals growing up from the floor and hanging in a tangle of long curly hairs from the ceiling. From here on down to the bottom of the tomb

they had grown everywhere in that deathly still, dry air, until some of the fine pendent hairs had attained a length of nearly three feet (fig. 34).

A few more yards down the steps, and my torch was darting around a chamber about ten feet square, half filled with chips left by stone-cutters. Before the chip had

been piled there, however, all four walls had been minutely carved, and the light suddenly flashed on a sculptured panel beside the door. There, bowing in the conventional Egyptian salute before the cartouches of Hatshepsut, stood the somewhat mutilated figure of "The Prince and Count; the only mouth which speaks with silence (in other words, the only one whose silence, even, is eloquent); the Chief of the King's Dignitaries; the dearly beloved Companion; the Steward of Amon, Senmut, triumphant; the true servant of his affection, doing that which meets

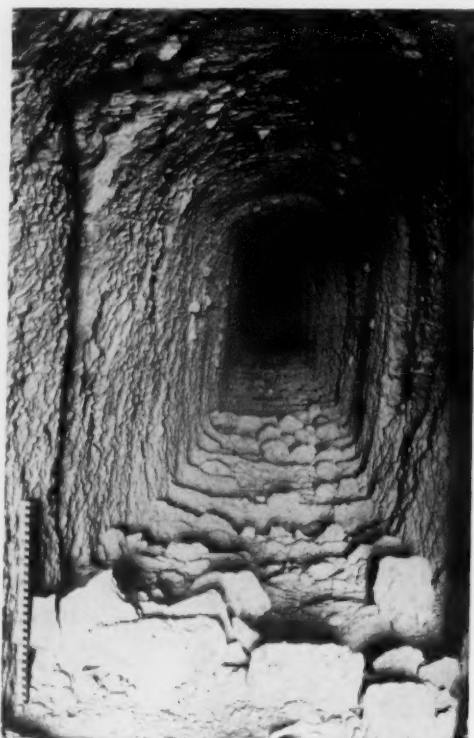


FIG. 33. THE STAIRWAY OF THE TOMB OF SENMUT WHEN IT WAS FIRST OPENED
XVIII DYNASTY

with the approval of the Lord of the Two Lands" (fig. 38).

So this was the tomb of Senmut. Well, there was plainly nothing in this room except chips of stone, and the stairway went on below. Another climb down; another chip-filled chamber—but undecorated this time; a third stair so choked with chip that I had to crawl down it flashing the light ahead—and I had gone a hundred yards from the entrance, down stairs all the way, and was in a little vaulted room, at the



FIG. 34. SALT CRYSTALS IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT

end of the tomb.¹³ Nor had I seen a single thing except stone-cutters' chips, bits of workmen's torn shirts, and broken water jars and dishes. The place was unfinished. We had always known that Senmut had fallen into disgrace, and now it was plain that he had never even been allowed burial in the tomb that he was preparing when his fate overtook him. Still this was no place for cogitations. By this time the men at

creamy white stone had offered an irresistible temptation to one of the draughtsmen, and he had rapidly sketched in with his reed pen the head of his patron, labeling it "The Steward of Amon, Senmut" (cover and fig. 35). Undoubtedly he was a calligraphist, this draughtsman, and his style was strictly circumscribed by the limitations of penmanship. And yet, in spite of all his conventions, he has been able to con-



FIG. 35. THE STEWARD OF AMON, SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY

the top would be getting worried and there was that hundred yards of stairs to toil up again.

However, it was obvious from the first that we had made an extraordinarily interesting discovery, and when we got the tomb cleared I realized that I had taken in only a small fraction of its interest in that hurried first descent into its depths.

Toward the bottom of the first long stairway, two round-topped stelae were to have been let into the wall on either side. The niche for one had been carved and the rock had been smoothed off for the outline of the other. The finished surface of the

vince us that Senmut had a striking profile with his aquiline nose and his nervously expressive, wrinkled face. As for the wrinkles, they surely were the feature by which Senmut was known. A crude little caricature, in a tomb above the temple, opened by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter some years ago, makes them Senmut's most prominent feature, exactly as does this sketch in his own tomb.

Only one chamber of the tomb had been carried to the point of being decorated and even that one had just left the sculptor's hands (fig. 36). On parts of the walls one can still see inspector's docket—"Fourth Month of Inundation, 29th Day"—written in black ink across each column of hieroglyphs at the point down to which the carving had been finished on that date

¹³ The length of the tomb from the top step outside, measured along the stairs, is 99.15 meters; on the horizontal projection on the plan it is 88.80 meters.

(fig. 39). It would be interesting if we could only prove that the handwriting was that of the Superintendent of All the Royal Works, Senmut himself.

All four walls are closely and carefully carved with vertical columns of hieroglyphs setting forth chapters chosen from the Books of the Underworld, of the Gates, and of the Dead, the religious works which

best and one of the earliest astronomical charts yet found, drawn by the most skillful penmen of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. In the center of the northern half appears the bull-headed constellation "Meskhetiu"—our "Great Bear"—and the circumpolar star groups (fig. 42). Across the sky the twelve ancient monthly festivals are drawn, each as a circle with its round of



FIG. 36. THE DECORATED CHAMBER IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY

guided the soul in the life to come when it voyaged with the sun across the ocean of the night, penetrated the fearsome corridors of Hades, or cultivated the Elysian Fields (fig. 37). Opposite the doorway is the stela, conventionally conceived as the door through which the soul of Senmut might come forth. Hence we see him with his brothers and his wives drawn in a group outside of it; we see him seated in converse with his father and his mother through a window above, and for a third time, seated alone before his dinner inside the door at the top (fig. 41).

The real gem of the little room is its ceiling, however (fig. 40). We have the heavens mapped out above us in one of the

twenty-four hours and, below, the celestial bodies of the northern sky pass in procession (fig. 43). Opposite, in the southern skies, Orion stubbornly turns his face away from the smiling Sothis, who chases after him, beckoning fruitlessly year after year (fig. 44). Above them, in turn, come the lists of the Decans with the name of Hatshepsut herself introduced among the heavenly beings. We have here an earlier and a finer celestial chart even than that in the tomb of King Seti, and one which no future study of Egyptian astronomy can neglect.

The discovery of the tomb of Senmut gave us the solution of one problem which had been coming up with bothersome fre-

quency ever since the beginning of the dig.

Long before we suspected the existence of the tomb, we had unearthed a little foundation deposit just above the western end of the quarry (fig. 46). It seemed to belong to an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, but as not a single inscribed object was in it, this could be only a guess. Shortly afterwards, another turned up a few yards away and our hopes of finding a tomb somewhere near rose higher. Then a third was found on the southwest corner of the quarry edge

both of our guesses. These foundation deposits were for an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb and they did mark off the western end of the quarry. Having found the tomb, we could see how Senmut—in full charge of the works at Deir el Bahri—had “stretched the cord” all around the end of the quarry nearest the temple to stake out a claim for one of the best places in the neighborhood from which a tomb could be tunneled under the temple courtyard. As for the shells with their curious dedication to Montu, the god

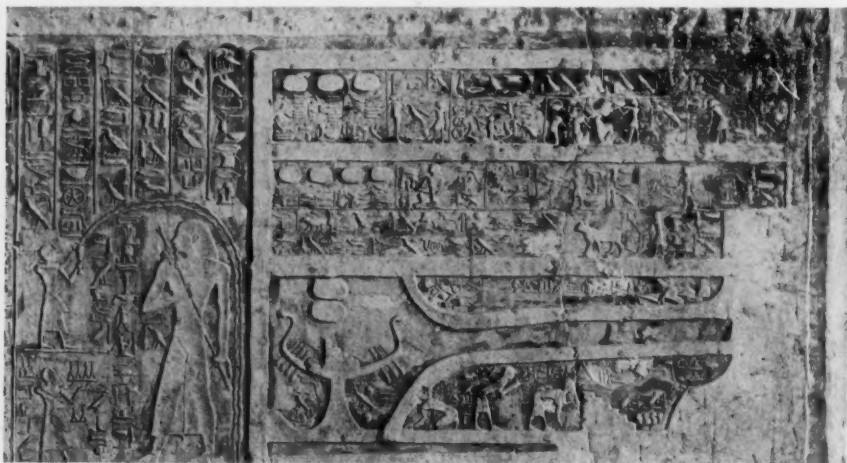


FIG. 37. SENMUT IN THE ELYSIAN FIELDS. XVIII DYNASTY

and it began to look as though, after all, these deposits had been placed to mark off the western end of the quarry itself. This time there was an alabaster shell inscribed “The Beautiful God, Maatkare (Hatshepsut), given life, beloved of the God Montu, Lord of Thebes, the Bull which is in Hermonthis”—a curious dedication for a necropolis structure, which made us no wiser than we were before. Finally, just at the time of the discovery of the tomb of Senmut, two more identical deposits were unearthed in the floor of the quarry (fig. 45). In them there was another shell, inscribed “The Beautiful God, Maatkare, given life, beloved of Montu, Lord of Hermonthis,” and in addition, a little alabaster saucer labeled “The Overseer of the Fields of Amon, Senmut, devoted to Osiris.”

Curiously enough we had been right in

of Hermonthis, even they could be explained. We know that Senmut was charged with work at Hermonthis as well as at Deir el Bahri. If he had had a lot of foundation deposit objects made for, say, a tomb of the Sacred Bull of Montu, why should he not have saved what was left over for his own tomb at Thebes?

One thing which had made our discovery quite unexpected was the fact that for the last century a tomb of Senmut's had been known, high up on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Hill a few hundred yards away from Deir el Bahri. That was a perfectly normal Eighteenth Dynasty tomb to all appearances. It had its open, public chapel for the celebration of the services due the dead on every festival day, in contrast to this new one, which was obviously a secret burial-place, never to be visited, or even



FIG. 38. SENMUT SALUTES THE NAMES OF HATSHEPSUT. XVIII DYNASTY

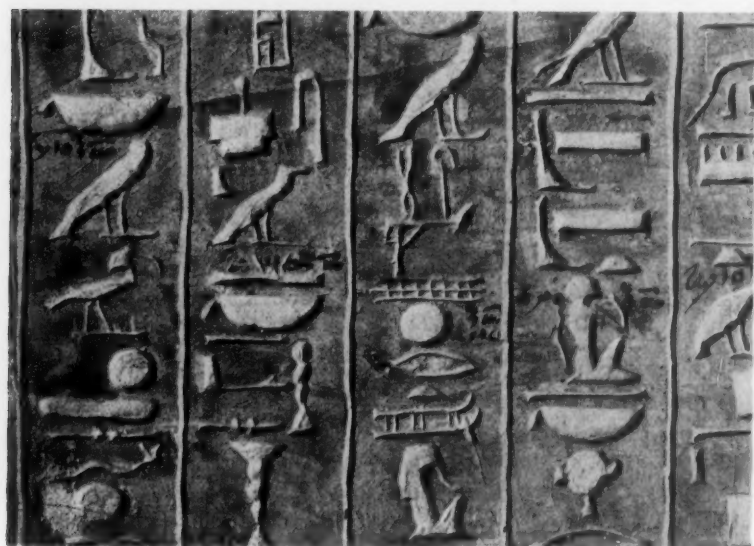


FIG. 39. DATES OF AN INSPECTION IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT
XVIII DYNASTY



FIG. 40. ASTRONOMICAL CEILING IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY



FIG. 41. STELA OF SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY

known of, by the public. In fact, this new tomb had a very striking similarity to the tomb of Hatshepsut herself, in its plan, in the way that it was laid out to tunnel toward the sacred precincts of the temple, and even in its secrecy and its distance from any chapel—a comparatively new idea among the Egyptians at this time, adopted only by the kings, as far as we know.

That Senmut should have followed a

put his foundation deposits around a part of the quarry already filled with rubbish. By this 16th Year, the southwest corner of the quarry had been selected for the tomb and the scaffold dump was contrived to leave it open. In fact, work may even have been started on the tomb before the 16th Year, because some of the chip from it seemed, perhaps, to have been buried under the dump.

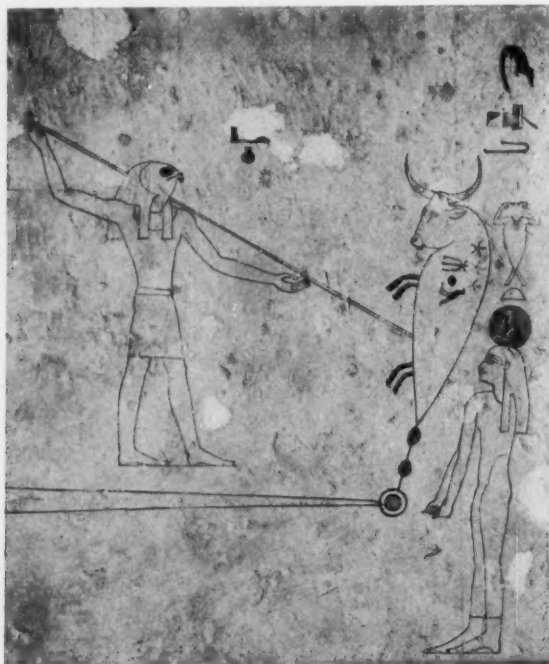


FIG. 42. THE CIRCUMPOLAR CONSTELLATIONS
XVIII DYNASTY

scheme so unusual among his peers needs some explanation. Clearly his first intention was to be buried on the hillside among his contemporaries, for his tomb there is the earlier of the two, belonging to the lifetime of Neferure, while the new tomb was decorated, at any rate, only after her death. The idea of following Hatshepsut's example in having a secret burial crypt under her temple had come to him only while he was at work at Deir el Bahri, but still at some time before the 16th Year, when the scaffold bricks were dumped into the north side of the quarry—for he never would have

It is a pity that one cannot place the dates here more closely. We get the impression that the tomb was started about the 16th Year and we will see that Senmut died about the 18th or 19th Year. If we could only verify such impressions, we would know how rapidly the ancient stonecutters could quarry out a corridor like this one, a hundred yards long.

The reader who has persevered thus far will perhaps have gathered the impression that absolutely everything which turned up in our work was a surprise to us, and it may come somewhat unexpectedly by now to

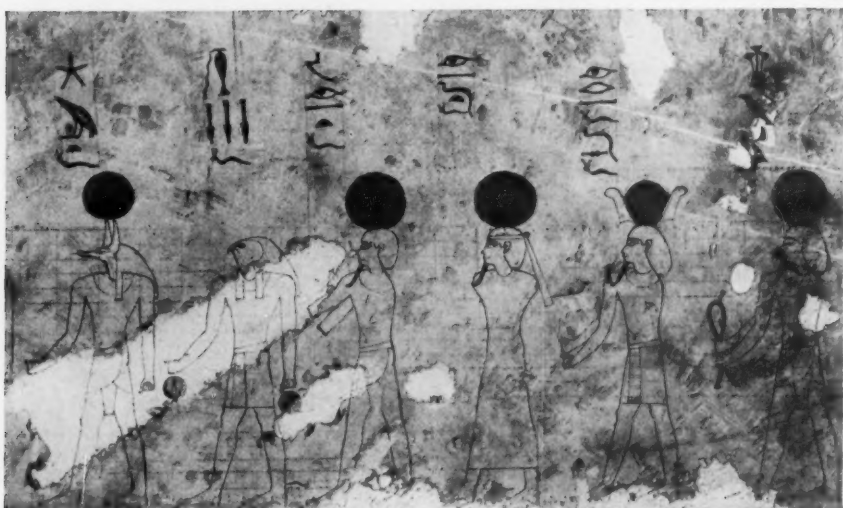
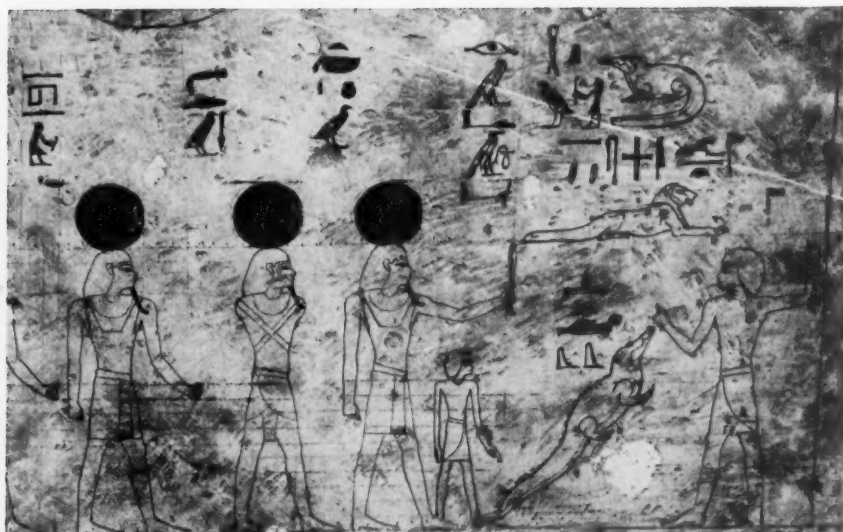


FIG. 43. CELESTIAL BODIES OF THE NORTHERN SKIES. XVIII DYNASTY

read that occasionally we did find things very much where and as we had anticipated.

Five years before we had found broken statues of Hatshepsut in the large hole on the south side of the temple avenue, where they had been dumped when Thutmose III decreed the destruction of every portrait of her in existence.¹⁴ Early in the last century Lepsius had found fragments of others, so

western end of the quarry, as soon as we had recognized it. Here, among the first pieces we turned up, were parts of a little kneeling granite statue which fitted to others found by us south of the avenue in 1922-23; and almost on top of the entrance to the tomb of Senmut, big sections of the colossal Osiride statues which had formed the pillars of the topmost porch of the temple. Among these last there was one

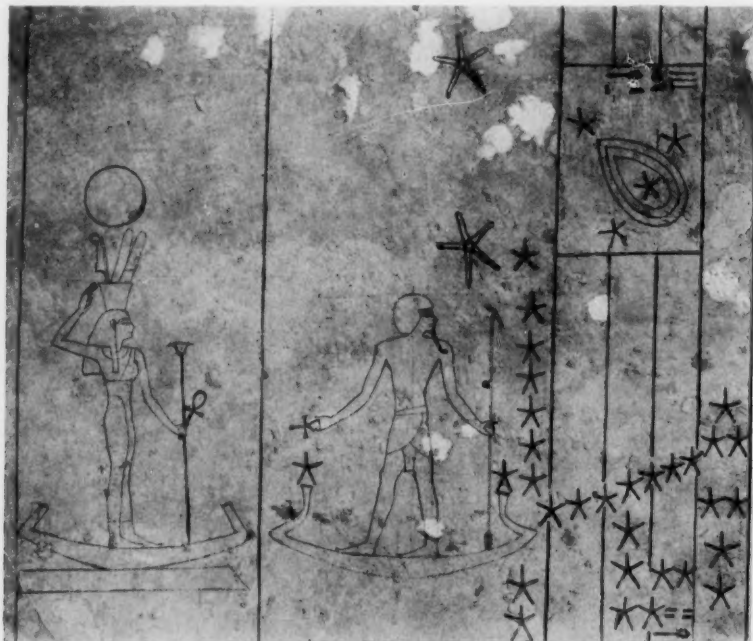


FIG. 44. ORION AND SOTHIS IN THE SOUTHERN SKIES. XVIII DYNASTY

far as we could discover, in the quarry on the north side of the avenue where a few other fragments still lay on the surface east of Cook's Rest House. It was reasonable to suppose that the wrecking gangs of Thutmose III had hauled the statues which they were destroying down the avenue and dumped them indifferently into the hollows on either side, as was most convenient at the moment. We therefore expected to discover broken statues of Hatshepsut north of the avenue.

Naturally it was very satisfying to begin to find fragments as soon as we began to clear the north side of the road, and in the

¹⁴BULLETIN, December, 1923, part II, p. 32.

head which had miraculously escaped damage during all of the rough handling it must have suffered when it was dismantled, transported from the temple, and rolled into the quarry (fig. 47).

This had brought us close to Naville's dump with the rest house upon it, and the next seventy-five yards of quarry were impossible to explore. The men were transferred, therefore, to the east of Naville's dump to clear the quarry edge where Lepsius must have found his fragments (fig. 50). From the very foot of the dump for the next eighty yards or more we found a jumble of pieces of sculpture from the size of a finger-tip to others weighing a



FIG. 45. THE WEST END OF THE QUARRY. THE BRICKWORK AT THE ENTRANCE TO SENMUT'S TOMB SHOWS AT THE LOWER LEFT-HAND CORNER. TWO FOUNDATION DEPOSITS WERE BEYOND THE RUINED HOUSE, A THIRD WAS ON THE EDGE OF THE QUARRY IN THE FOREGROUND, AND TWO MORE WHERE THE TWO MEN STAND IN THE QUARRY BOTTOM

ton or more (figs. 48 and 49). There were large sections of the limestone colossi from the upper porch; brilliantly colored pieces from the ranks of sandstone sphinxes which had lined the avenue; the greater parts of several large granite sphinxes, probably from the temple courts (fig. 51); and fragments of at least four or five kneeling statues of the queen in red and black granite, over six feet high. One seated red granite statue of the queen, about twice life-size, had been broken up on the spot and nearly all of its pieces were found lying together (figs. 52, 53), but most of the other



FIG. 46. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF THE TOMB OF SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY

sculptures had been scattered up and down the quarry in such confusion that it will take at least another whole season to find out what we really have.

The small statues which we found five years ago had been buried so easily and quickly that no one had taken the trouble to mutilate them. Unfortunately, this was not the case with the colossi and the sphinxes of this year. They could only have been dragged out to their burial-place slowly and laboriously and the workmen had plenty of opportunity to vent their spite on the brilliantly chiseled, smiling features. On the face of an exquisitely carved red granite statue a fire had been kindled to disintegrate the stone, and the features of the statue brought to the Museum have been battered entirely away and the uraeus on the forehead, the symbol of royalty, completely obliterated. Thutmose III could have had no complaint to make

on the execution of his orders, for every conceivable indignity had been heaped on the likenesses of the fallen queen.

In one way, however, this ordered destruction has worked to our advantage. None of these statues could have been more than five or six years old when they were broken up, and because they had had so short an exposure to the elements, their colors were practically intact when they were buried. The paint on the limestone and sandstone fragments is in some cases as brilliant as when it was first applied, but it is on the hard stones that it is most interesting. In the nature of things, color has usually disappeared entirely from the granite temple sculptures found in modern times, but these sphinxes and statues show with unusual vividness how the Egyptian prized his hard stones and left their polished surfaces to be admired for their own sakes, picking out in paint only the details which needed emphasizing, such as the headdress, the eyes, and the jewelry.

For several years now, our excavations have been yielding facts on Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el Bahri and on the career and personality of her architect, Senmut. Unfortunately, as told in most of the recent histories, the tale of Hatshepsut is given a plot of over-ingenious complexity into which such impressions of Deir el Bahri as we are gaining would have to be strained to fit, and some of the older histories, while they come nearer in their general lines to our experience, lack many a detail published in recent years. Naturally the BULLETIN is not the place to present a new solution of a problem in Egyptian history in the orthodox manner, with an elaborate ritual of notes and references, but nevertheless—even without all that—the tale of Hatshepsut and of Senmut is worth retelling as we understand it, if only to present to the reader the facts developed by our excavations in a connected narrative. Disconnected as they have been when made, these discoveries have been interesting, but when they are strung together with the previously known facts we begin to get some idea of the intertwined stories of a remarkable woman and an able man, the echoes of which have not been hushed up entirely in spite of every

effort on the part of their antagonist and the lapse of thirty-four centuries. Unless we slip unconsciously, we shall stick to the documents, all too meager though they are.¹⁵ Where they fail, the reader's own imagination must be trusted to supply the lack.

When, about 1514 B.C., Thutmose I "rested from life and went forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart," he was a bald old man with a white beard, who had ruled Egypt for at least a quarter of a century. Three of his children

sisters. The situation which King Thutmose was leaving behind him was one which arose with surprising frequency in the Eighteenth Dynasty. His real heir—the Great Royal Wife's eldest surviving child—was a girl. But the duties of kingship could be performed only by a man, and the Egyptian way out of the difficulty was to marry the young Hatshepsut to her half-brother, Prince Thutmose, and to crown him King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

They were an ill-assorted couple to all appearances. The young King Thutmose II



FIG. 47. COLOSSAL LIMESTONE HEAD OF HATSHEPSUT. XVIII DYNASTY

had already died—the eldest boy, Wazmose, at the very beginning of the reign and, during the years that followed, the second son, Amenmose, and a daughter, Neferubity. This last child, at least, was borne to him by the Great Royal Wife, Ahmose, the eldest daughter of his predecessor, Amenhotep I. Ahmose herself survived her husband, and with her another of her daughters, Hatshepsut, and a stepson, Thutmose, borne to the king by one of her own younger

was a youth of no more than twenty, physically frail and mentally far from energetic, who let the country run on of itself. Old officials who had started their careers in the days of his grandfather—and even of his great-grandfather—occupied their places throughout his reign, and it was his father's generals who suppressed a rebellion which broke out in Nubia. The Hatshepsut whom we come to know as time goes on was in every way his opposite. In age she was probably not far removed from her husband's twenty years. In looks we have her own word for it that at this time "to look upon her was more beautiful than anything; her splendor and her form were divine; she was a maiden, beautiful and blooming"—and there is no reason to doubt her. She was probably as good a judge of her own charms as any of her sisters have been since mirrors were invented. If, in spite of this charm which she

¹⁵Most of the documents are in Breasted's *Ancient Records*, II, and Sethe's *Urkunden*, IV. Important additional information is given in Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, and Elliot Smith, *Royal Mummies*. The two tombs of Hatshepsut are described by Carter in Theodore M. Davis, *Tomb of Hâtshopsitû*, and in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1917. Mention is made below of two statues of Senmut in the British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, V, and of another in the Field Museum of Chicago, a description of which I owe to the kindness of Dr. T. George Allen.

claims, and in spite of the strength of character which she undoubtedly possessed, from these years of her youth she has left no more of a name than did her young husband, it must be realized that so long as her mother lived, precedence was given to the Dowager Queen and to Hatshepsut was left only the duty of bearing children.

Two girls had been born to her—the



FIG. 48. FRAGMENTS OF GRANITE SPHINXES IN A HOLLOW IN THE QUARRY. XVIII DYNASTY

elder, Neferure, and the younger, Meretre-Hatshepsut—and the young Pharaoh had scarcely more than turned his thirtieth year when, about 1501 B.C., "he went forth to heaven to mingle with the gods." Thus Hatshepsut found herself, in her turn, the mother of an infant heiress to the throne and the unquestioned head of the royal family, before she was fairly on the threshold of middle age. And on her hands she had a question of succession exactly duplicating that which had arisen at the death of her own father. Iset, one of the concubines in the royal harim, had borne a son,

a third Thutmose, still "a stripling, a youth in Amon's temple, whose installation as prophet had not yet taken place," and it was this boy who was chosen to share the patrimony of his little half-sister, Neferure, and "to stand in the place of his father as Lord of the Two Lands, having become ruler on the throne of the one who begat him."

Ostensibly the boy Thutmose III was Pharaoh, but of right and custom the regency was in the hands of Queen Hatshepsut as long as he and his little consort, Neferure, were still infants, and there was nothing whatever unusual—except perhaps in his frankness—when the courtier Ineny wrote that at the boy king's accession it was his father's "sister, the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, who managed the affairs of the Two Lands according to her own devices. Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for her, the mistress of command, whose plans are excellent and who satisfies the Two Lands when she speaks." This was as it should be, and no objection could have been raised by the strictest legitimist. The calendar was dating the years from the accession of Thutmose III, and actually Hatshepsut was claiming no more than had her ancestresses, Tetishery, Ahhotep, and Ahmose Nefretiry, the first of whom had held a place second only to the king as late as her grandson's reign, and the other two in the reigns of their sons. Hatshepsut, on the public monuments of the beginning of her stepson's reign, kept well within precedent and styled herself merely "The Divine Consort and Great Royal Wife" and was shown standing behind Thutmose III just as her own mother had stood behind Thutmose II. Even in the tomb which she made for herself at about this time her pretensions did not overstep any of the attributes which custom allowed her, for on her sarcophagus she was styled "The Great Princess favored with charm, Mistress of all Lands, Royal Daughter and Sister, Great Royal Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut."

The old officers of government, some of whom had served the royal house from the days of its founder, Ahmose I, acknowledged her position and lost nothing in doing

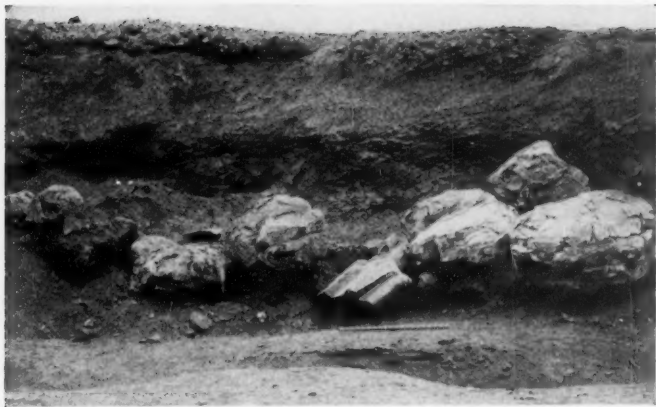


FIG. 49. FRAGMENTS OF STATUES IN THE QUARRY
XVIII DYNASTY



FIG. 50. CLEARING THE QUARRY EAST OF NAVILLE'S DUMP

so. Ahmose Pen-Nekhet recorded on the walls of his tomb at El Kab that Hatshepsut had "repeated honors to me. I reared her eldest daughter, the Princess Neferure, while she was an infant in arms." Ineny enthusiastically wrote, "Her Majesty loved me. She recognized my worth at court and filled my house with silver and gold and all the beautiful materials of the royal palace." Thure still retained his old post of commandant in Nubia and Peniaty was still in charge of the quarries at Gebel Silsileh.

None of the old men were ungratefully hustled out of the way, perhaps, but the young Queen Regent saw to it that there were places near her for those of her own generation, and among them the Steward of Amon, Senmut, striking-looking, energetic, able, and ambitious, saw his chance to make a place for himself at the very outset of the new régime. "I was in this land under Hatshepsut's command from the moment of the death of her predecessor" (Thutmose II), he wrote, having lost no time in getting into the favor of the queen who held the destiny of Egypt in her own very capable and—let us take her word for it—charming hands.

Without very much question Hatshepsut must have seen in Senmut a kindred soul. Her own future was wrapped up in the regency and it was from the moment of the establishment of the regency that Senmut dated his career. In fact, in that remarkable partnership that was to last for the next score of years, it would seem that one of Hatshepsut's first steps was to appoint Senmut "Chief Guardian of the King's Daughter, the Princess of the Two Lands, the Divine Consort, Neferure," and together with that office she made him High Steward of her own household and of Neferure's, and probably Steward of the other infant daughter, Meretre-Hatshepsut, as well. This was not far from making him a collaborator in the regency itself.

Of the antecedents of the new favorite we know little or nothing. His parents appear to have been of no great station in life—the Honorable Ramose and the Dame Hatnofret—and of his three brothers, Senmen alone rose to any sort of prominence and he, probably, only because Senmut

made him his assistant in the management of the affairs of the little princesses. A second brother, Amenemhet, was merely a priest on the Divine Barque of Amon, and the third, Païry, only a cattle overseer. Of wives he had two, one of whom was called Nofrethor. Incidentally, he seems to have had no children. At least in his later years he confided to his brother Amenemhet those funeral services which would more appropriately have been performed by a son if he had had one. Priestly preferment could have played no more part in his rise than family influence, for it is only in a perfunctory way that he mentions his unimposing places in the hierarchy—Prophet on the Divine Barque of Amon and Chief Prophet in the comparatively unimportant temple of Montu in Hermonthis. Nor was he attracted by a military career in a singularly peaceful generation.

First and last, Senmut was an administrator, and probably it was in the administration of the vast estates of the Temple of Karnak that he had started, for no matter how high he rose, until his death he was always known as the Steward of Amon. As time went on, every detail in the management of the temple properties came under his control, and as High Steward he was also Overseer of Amon's Granaries, Storehouses, Fields, Gardens, Cattle, and Slaves, and Controller of the Hall of Amon. Likewise he was Overseer of the Works of Amon and, in time, Overseer of All of the Works of the King in the Temple of Amon as well, which amounted to being the chief architect of his generation. Once he was firmly established in Hatshepsut's favor we find him controlling the wealth of the royal family in the same detailed way. Starting as High Steward of the two queens, Hatshepsut and her little daughter Neferure, he became in time Controller, Overseer, and Overseer of Overseers of All of the Works of the King; Superintendent of the Royal Slaves, of the Treasury, of the Armory, and of the Red Crown Castle. With these offices Senmut held more intimate ones like those of the great nobles of France who were honored in being allowed to assist in the most intimate details of the royal toilet at the king's levees. Hence it

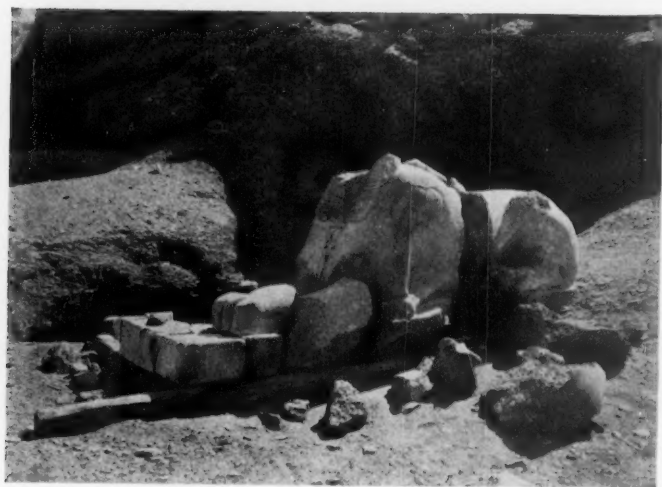


FIG. 51. FRAGMENTS OF GRANITE SPHINXES PARTLY
REASSEMBLED. XVIII DYNASTY

came about that not only did he boast of being Governor of the Royal Palace, but he tells us that he was Superintendent of the Private Apartments, of the Bathroom, and of the Royal Bedrooms as well.

At the turning points of a narrative like this, it is hard to avoid imputing motives on flimsy evidence and perhaps giving the characters in the story rôles which they never filled in life. That is the case at this point especially.

While Senmut was adding one lucrative office to another in the management of the affairs of Karnak and of the Palace, Hatshepsut remained undisputed autocrat of Egypt. Actually, ever since her father's death she had been Mistress of the Two Lands, first with a colorless half-brother and now with her infant daughter and stepson. As long as these last two remained minors she was an absolute ruler in fact. Perhaps she felt that if due consideration were only given to her having been the heiress of Thutmose I, she should be absolute ruler by right. The difference was merely in the name and style of kingship, but that was a right which custom rigidly withheld from women and which had been usurped by none since the time of that Queen Sebekneferu who had lost the throne for the Twelfth Dynasty. Yet we find Hatshepsut on the verge of taking that very step, and Senmut must have been a conniver, if not an actual instigator, for it is difficult to see how any such course could have been successful without the assistance of the High Steward; how any encroachment could have been made on the rights of the royal children without the agreement of Neferure's chief guardian, or how any monuments could have been erected in the temples of Amon by a usurper who did not have the adherence of the Chief of Works. Senmut held all of these offices, and in the end it was on Senmut that the vengeance of Thutmose III fell first. He cannot, under such circumstances, escape the imputation of a share in the devious politics of his mistress. The only question for the reader to decide is whether it was through infatuation for her that Senmut followed her in a course of her own designing, or whether through

ambition for himself he was encouraging her to break with the customs of her people.

How long Hatshepsut hesitated before declaring herself "King," it is difficult to say. It is perhaps possible that she did it as early as the fifth year after the death of her husband.¹⁶ Certainly by the 8th or 9th Year, when the foundations of Deir el Bahri were laid, she had taken the step and had proclaimed herself "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare," and as such she was thereafter known. From our point of view it is difficult for us to see how mere extra trappings to a position which she already virtually held could have been so important to her. From an Oriental point of view they would seem utterly purposeless unless their seizure were followed up by the obliteration of her little stepson. But this last step she never took, and thenceforth Thutmose III was left in obscure peace and his name still given a perfunctory place on the monuments—but always after her own.

Hatshepsut was neither an Agrippina nor an Amazon. As far as we know, violence and bloodshed had no place in her make-up. Hers was a rule dominated by an architect, and the Hapusenebs, Nehsys, and Tehutys in her following were priests and administrators rather than soldiers. The one foreign expedition of which she has left a record was an entirely peaceful one, sent immediately after her usurpation, down the Red Sea to the Land of Punt. It returned in 1492 B.C. laden with the produce of the spice lands for the service of Amon and exotic trees for his gardens in Karnak—all to come eventually under the control of Amon's High Steward and the Overseer of his Gardens, and Senmut was, appropriately enough, one of the three officials deputed to receive the expedition on its homecoming.

The characteristic opening which Hatshepsut and her confidant gave to this new phase of her career was an ambitious program of temple building, designed with an eye to political expediency. At Deir el Bahri they planned everlasting propaganda

¹⁶If the dates of certain stela are given correctly by Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 102.



FIG. 52. RED GRANITE STATUE OF HATSHEPSUT
XVIII DYNASTY

in stone to justify the Queen's act. The body of Thutmose I was to be moved from the burial-place which had been prepared for him by old Ineny, to a new tomb in the Valley of the Kings, in which one day the old king and the daughter who had succeeded him might lie side by side in twin sarcophagi.¹⁷ Above, in two adjoining chapels in the new temple on the other side of the hill, they were to be honored simultaneously. Furthermore, where every visitor to the temple might see it, a whole porch was to be devoted to the delineation of a miraculous and supernatural fiction purporting to show that Hatshepsut had been acknowledged as offspring and crowned as king by both her divine father Amon and her mortal father Thutmose, during the latter's lifetime. And since her father Amon was to share the temple with Hatshepsut and her father Thutmose, other porches were to be set aside to perpetuate the manner in which she had shown her filial piety to the god. The two episodes chosen eventually by her for this purpose were her expedition to Punt in the 9th Year and the transport of her obelisks from Assuan in the 16th.

The digging of the new tomb for Hatshepsut and Thutmose I was entrusted to Hapuseneb. The far more important work on the temple Senmut expressly states was his own. We have seen from our discoveries this year that its laying-out took place in the 8th or 9th Year, just at the time when the expedition was sent to Punt, about 1492 B.C. We have also seen traces of Senmut working there in the 10th Year, and at some such period his boatswain, Nebiry, must have dropped the whip which we found in 1923.¹⁸ Probably he was there in charge of a gang of sailors bringing Assuan granite for the doorways, because the limestone in the temple seems to have been from the neighboring hills and would not

have come by ship. Finally we have seen how ambitiously the plan of the temple had been enlarged during the building, and that it was not until the 16th Year, about 1485 B.C., that the engineers' scaffolds were removed and the decoration well under way.

Meantime the activities of the Chief of All of the Royal Works had covered most of Upper and Middle Egypt. He had already quarried obelisks at Assuan and sandstone at Gebel Silsileh, probably before his mistress had adopted her new name and style. The necropolis landing stage opposite Karnak had been rebuilt at the time of the erection of the temple at Deir el Bahri. The Middle Egyptian temples, which were still in ruins after the Hyksos invasion, were restored after the 9th Year, and at the same time additions were being made to the great Karnak Temple. There the Chief of Works accomplished a triumph of engineering. Two granite obelisks, each a single stone about a hundred feet long, were quarried at Assuan, transported over one hundred and fifty miles down river to Thebes, and set upright in Karnak, all within the short space of seven months. Further undertakings recorded by Senmut were in the Luxor Temple, in the Mut Temple, where a statue to him was erected, and at Hermonthis, where he laid the foundations for a temple, or perhaps for a tomb of the bull sacred to Montu, as we have already noted.

Our impression of Senmut's professional attainments is somewhat mixed, so far as Deir el Bahri is concerned at least, and there only has his work survived to any great extent. Unquestionably, when it was completed the building was far more imposing than its Eleventh Dynasty model, and its plan had been adapted to fit its magnificent surroundings in a wholly masterful way. But whenever we have had occasion to examine its shoddy, jerry-built foundations, we have had an unpleasant feeling of sham behind all this impressiveness which up to that time had not been especially characteristic of Egyptian architects.¹⁹ Possibly Senmut was a victim of necessity and speed was required of him—

¹⁷ The sarcophagus made for Thutmose I in this tomb is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It was made a little too short for his coffin (which is not surprising considering that Thutmose had been buried some score of years, and the dimensions of his coffin forgotten) and had to be altered when the mummy of Thutmose was brought from his original tomb.

¹⁸ BULLETIN, December, 1923, part II, p. 32.

¹⁹ BULLETIN, December, 1924, part II, p. 14.

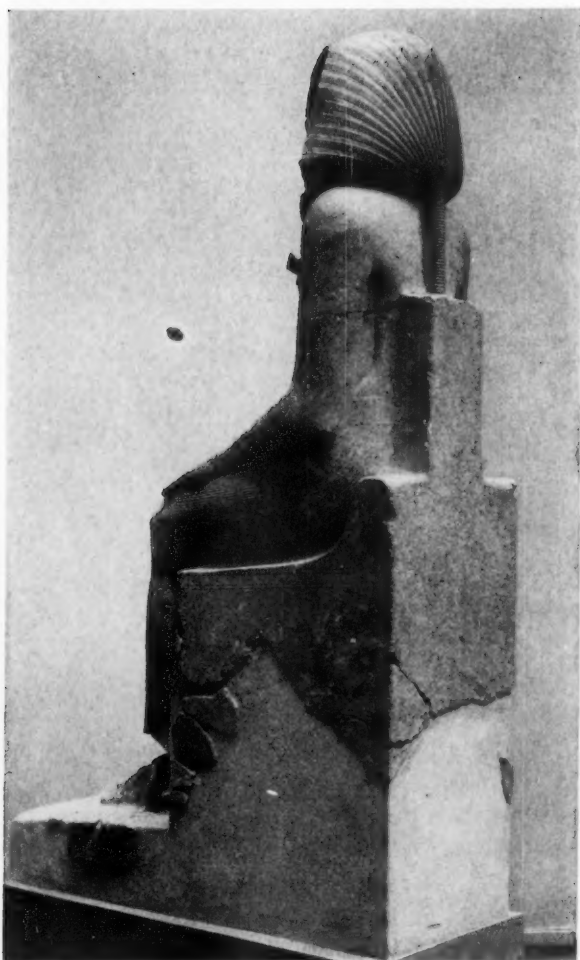


FIG. 53. RED GRANITE STATUE OF HATSHEPSUT, SIDE VIEW

or perhaps there is some more venal explanation.

In any case Senmut does not seem to have lacked worldly goods himself at this time. He had built an expensive tomb high up on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Hill. It was there that a century ago Athanasi found a granite statue of him holding the infant Neferure, which is now in Berlin, and it would not be surprising to learn that two other statues like it, in the British Museum, had been unearthed there too. It was there also that Lepsius found Senmut's quartzite

lor on the Sovereign's right hand, secure in favor and given audience alone; a lover of truth who showed no partiality; one to whom judges listened and whose very silence was eloquent. I was one upon whose utterances his Lord relied, with whose advice the Mistress of the Two Lands was satisfied, and the heart of the Divine Consort was completely filled. I was a noble to whom one hearkened, for I repeated the words of the King to the companions. I was one whose steps were known in the palace, a real confidant of the Ruler, enter-



FIG. 54. ACCOUNTS DEALING WITH SENMUT
XVIII DYNASTY

stela, of a design very much like figure 41, and it is nearby that Davies has seen chips of a quartzite sarcophagus bearing his name. All the statues from his tomb are stated to have been royal gifts to Senmut and the same claim appears on his statue from the Temple of Mut, now in Cairo, and on another, perhaps from Karnak, now in Chicago. But then, naturally, it would have been easy for the man in charge of all the royal works to obtain for himself some of the products of the royal workshops.

How Senmut hoped to be regarded by the populace he set forth in public view upon these statues. This estimate of himself, gathered together from several different sources, went somewhat in this manner:

"I was the greatest of the great in the whole land. I was the guardian of the secrets of the King in all his places; a privy council-

ing in love and coming forth in favor, making glad the heart of the Sovereign every day. I was the one useful to the King, faithful to the God, and without blemish before the people. I was one to whom was given the inundation that I might control the Nile; one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were confided. That which the South and the North contributed was under my seal and the labor of all countries was under my charge. And moreover I had access to all the writings of the prophets—there was nothing from the beginning of time which I did not know."

Admittedly most, if not all, of these ridiculously fulsome phrases are only the stereotyped forms of self-praise which had been used by many a worthy long before Senmut, but that in his case they were not entirely exaggerated and that Senmut was

actually *one* of the greatest of the great in the whole land, is attested by a homely little potsherd found last year in the quarry (fig. 54).

On it a scribe has jotted down an account covering the first five months of some year of the reign, to list items against "the Pharaoh" totaling 14; "the Estate of the Queen," 15; "the Treasurer," 19, and "Senmut," 19. Here are the four great powers of the land, and of them Senmut alone goes by his own name. To this scribe, Thutmose, Hatshepsut, and the Treasurer were merely institutions, but Senmut needed no titles to explain who he might be.

To what extent Senmut's boldness had grown we had a hint a couple of years ago when we noticed how he had ordered his portrait introduced behind every door in the Temple of Deir el Bahri,²⁰ and now this past season we find him tunneling right under the temple enclosure to make a new tomb for himself, suggestively like Hatshepsut's own. And he had gone even further. Down the middle of the ceiling of the decorated chamber in this new tomb he had caused to be written in fine bold hieroglyphs: "Long live the Horus, 'Mighty of Souls'; the Favorite of the Two Goddesses, 'Fresh in Years'; the Golden Horus, 'Divine of Diadems'; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Maatkare,' beloved of Amon, who lives, and the Chancellor, the

²⁰BULLETIN, March, 1926, part II, p. 13.

Steward of Amon, Senmut, begotten by Ramose and born of Hatnofret." So written, without either break or qualifying phrases, this linking together of Senmut's name with Hatshepsut's would surely have made interesting reading to any partisan of Thutmose who might have seen it.

At this point in the story we sadly lack

the diary of some Eighteenth Dynasty Pepys or Creevey, for surely in the court gossip of the day we should hear some rumor of all not going quite so well with the High Steward of Amon as he might pretend. His ward, the Divine Consort Nefereure, had died and with her he had lost his earliest and, perhaps still, one of his strongest holds on fortune. She had been alive, of course, at the laying of the foundations of Deir el Bahri in the 8th or 9th Year, and still living in the 11th Year, as we know from an inscription at the mines in Sinai. She was alive

at the time when Senmut built his first tomb and set up the statues now in Berlin, London, and Chicago. She had even survived until the sanctuary at Deir el Bahri was sculptured, but she never appears in the decorations of the rest of the temple, begun about the 16th Year, nor does Senmut any longer claim to be her guardian in his new tomb of about the same date, or on his statue in Cairo. In fact, when next we hear of a consort of Thutmose III, it is the younger sister, Meretre-Hatshepsut, who is the Great



FIG. 55. THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF SENMUT WITH THE STAIN ON THE ROCK ABOVE SHOWING HOW DEEPLY IT WAS FIRST BURIED

Royal Wife and the mother of the heir to the throne.

Moreover, if Neferure was gone and Senmut's guardianship terminated, equally a thing of the past was the boyhood and youth of Thutmose. He had grown up a short, stocky young man full of a fiery Napoleonic energy, suppressed up to now but soon to cause the whole known world to smart. Long since he should have been sole ruler of Egypt but for Hatshepsut and we hardly have to stretch our imaginations unduly to picture the bitterness of such a man against those who had deprived him of his rights, or to see the danger in which Senmut now found himself.

The last definite date in the career of Senmut is that of the ostrakon which we found last year, written about the middle of the 16th Year of the reign. If we assume that another year or so passed before the decorations of Deir el Bahri were finished and the last of the doors were hung, behind which he hid his portraits, we may suppose that he survived until the 18th Year—about 1483 B.C. If he was in charge of Hatshepsut's last works at Karnak, then he was alive in the 19th Year. But scarcely any longer could he have escaped the impatience of Thutmose to see an end of him. That he fell, in any case, before his mistress is one of the interesting new facts to be gathered from the tomb which we found this year. In it his portraits are mutilated, while her names are still granted due respect.

The exact circumstances of Senmut's taking off will have to be still another of the details left to the reader's imagination. The monuments are absolutely silent upon it—but we can construct some outline of the sequel to the tale.

As soon as news arrived of the end of the Great Steward, orders were given to close up his presumptuous new tomb. The job was done as quickly as possible. Workmen went down to the decorated chamber and smashed the faces of Senmut wherever they noticed them and in passing even scratched the sketch in the corridor (cover). They had no time to search out Senmut's name in the inscriptions—or perhaps none of them could read—and they did not dare

to mutilate the cartouches of the still powerful Hatshepsut. Hastily gathering together bricks and stones at the mouth of the tomb, they started to wall it up, but the work did not go fast enough, and before they had finished their wall they gave it up and raked down dirt just enough to cover over the doorway. So the tomb stood for the next four or five years. The sun blazed on the rock above the buried doorway and one of the sudden thunderstorms of the desert flooded mud down over it, until the rock took on a yellowish tint that showed us quite distinctly the line of this first burying of the tomb (fig. 55).

Meantime, life at the court in Thebes must have been feverish. If we suppose that Thutmose had done away with Senmut, we may take it for granted that he did not stop there. Doubtless, as he saw his chance he knocked out from under Hatshepsut one prop after another—Hapuseneb, Nehsy, Tehuty, and Senmut's brother, Senmen. The names of all of them and of others have been erased everywhere. Of Hatshepsut herself we have a monument of the 20th Year, and then at the end of the 22nd Year we find Thutmose free at last, sole ruler of Egypt, at the head of his armies, making his first campaign in Syria. The chronicle used by Manetho seems to have given to her 21 years and 9 months of rule from the death of her brother, and since that agrees perfectly with our other information, we may date Hatshepsut's death in the latter part of January, 1479 B.C.²¹

Once more Deir el Bahri rang with the sound of chisels and mallets. Some whip other than Nebiry's cracked over the backs of the slaves, and the statues, still bright in the first freshness of their paint, were hauled back down the avenue. This time they were to be broken up and dumped over the roadside into the quarry, and it was not without its appropriateness that some of Hatshepsut's portraits should have been rolled in on top of the empty tomb of Senmut and buried with it, deep under heaped-up rubbish.

H. E. WINLOCK.

²¹ Following Breasted's dates for the reign of Thutmose III.

THE GRAPHIC WORK OF THE EXPEDITION

Our work at Thebes has pursued its regular course, broken by a short visit by Mr. Wilkinson and myself to the Oasis of Khargeh, where, in the short period of the year during which neither heat nor winds nor mosquitoes unduly annoy, we were able to continue our task of transferring to paper the large superficies of intricate detail and text that the temple walls there present, and yet, in the midst of a hard day's work, find invigoration in the perfect quiet and far horizons of that very foreign land. On my way to the Oasis I spent a short fortnight in the camp of the Egypt Exploration Society at El Amarna, where, by an arrangement for mutual benefit, I secured for the Museum a copy in color of the remains of a fine painting of geese, nearly life-size and in the peculiar style of the Northern Palace. Being doomed to rapid destruction if left in place, it has since been removed from the walls, with the damage inseparable from that very difficult operation; so that no further copy can be made of a subject quite unique in treatment, and almost worthy to be placed side by side with the celebrated geese of Medum. It is now being reproduced in color for a publication of the Society, and will then be added to our records in New York.

Two tasks to which we have devoted long labor at Thebes are now happily drawing to a close. Mr. Wilkinson has completed his great copy of the Nubian tribute in the tomb of Huy,¹ while my wife and I can see

¹This tomb was discovered before 1828 by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson and some of its scenes and inscriptions are recorded in his *ms. notebooks*. These notebooks are at present deposited in Professor Griffith's library at Oxford, through the kindness of the present owner, Mrs. Godfrey Mosley. The Museum wishes here to express its indebtedness to Mrs. Mosley and Professor Griffith for putting the *mss.* at the disposal of C. K. Wilkinson, of our staff, in order that he

the end of our long enterprise in that of Rekhmire. She has finished the laborious work of painting the detailed depiction of foreign types and tribute, which has been as exacting on eye and patience as it will be of value to the student of international relations in that far past, and has begun the easier task of securing exact pictures of tools and craft methods from the great trades scene. I, on the other hand, have made some way with the vast but dull series of burial rites, which reach up into the gloom to a height of twenty-six feet from the ground and cover nearly fifty square yards of surface. By transferring half the labor to Mr. Burton and his camera, and continuing our method of inking in the enlarged photographs, I hope to make rapid progress with this work. In this, as in other respects, Rekhmire sets the standard for the whole necropolis, so that this procedure is likely in the end to prove a great saving of time and labor.

We do not confine ourselves, however, to selected tombs. For one reason or another—the need of comparative studies, some special interest a scene has, or the precarious state it is in—we are often called away from our main work. Hence our archives contain many curious excerpts, which gradually acquire increased meaning as parallels or divergencies crop up. The following notes will make use of a few of these.

The tomb of Kenamun, the publication of which by the Museum is now going to press, provides, among other attractive details, some presentations of the Egyptian dance which are of exceptional interest, since they indicate the wide range of moods and movements which this art presented, a

might complete from them his copies of certain scenes which have been destroyed since Sir Gardner Wilkinson saw them.

A. M. L.

feature which can be further illustrated from other sources. For the Supplement to the BULLETIN of March, 1918, page 18, I copied from that tomb the pictograph attached to the word *hby* "to dance," showing a girl throwing a somersault, in proof that the verb could connote also a violent movement of this sort, and that a lost part of the scene probably contained a depiction of this very feat. This year in the debris



FIG. 1. DANCE OF HATHOR
TOMB 82

I came on a small fragment which I think must have formed part of the figure of one of the female gymnasts whose gyrations amused the young king in the scene, apparently in this case by the vertical leap which is elsewhere depicted in a dance in honor of the goddess Hathor (fig. 1).

In the same tomb the word is also applied to a dance by the staff of the temple, which appears to consist of restrained movements of legs and arms accompanied by song, and forms part of the ceremonial with which a funerary statue was conveyed to its resting-place (fig. 8). This measured action, in which one foot is being lifted a little way from the ground, is the more

general pose shown by the pictograph of the two words for "dancing," and such a dance of slight movement and graceful gesticulations must therefore be regarded as the regular Egyptian dance, whether on social, funerary, or religious occasions. But we have seen that the verb was also applicable to movements so violent as to become gymnastic feats, if not actual contortions, and we should be much mistaken if we assigned the gentler and more graceful movement to solemn, and the wilder saltations to hilarious, moments. All the evidence points to the contrary.



FIG. 2. IMPROMPTU DANCE
EL AMARNA

Elaborate studies of the dance as a means of expressing mood and emotion are being made today. We should probably be widely wrong if we sought to explain the ancient Egyptian dance in this way. It is rather a means of exciting emotion and attuning the mood, for it is professional, not of the community. On the few occasions when a dance is shown which obviously arises from uncontrollable impulse its spontaneity is unmistakable. Here (fig. 2) are the street-boys of El Amarna who break into a dance when they see the king showering down gifts from the window on a man they know, and they do the same at a public rejoicing. But in general it is the part of the crowd only to applaud the skill and be infected by the spirit of professional performers.

The guests at the feast can readily attune themselves to the gliding movement of the dance, the monotonous rhythm of the beat, and the tinkling melody, and no doubt welcomed the dance when (perhaps unwisely, considering the pressure put on them to drink deeply) it took a more riotous tone

member of the troupe (in Tomb No. 11 and at Sheikh Saïd). The animal here seems to take the place of the little apprentice (fig. 6) to whose youth a little more abandon and exaggeration of pose were allowed than to her more genteel and disciplined elders. Otherwise the shuffling or gliding motion,



FIG. 3. POSTURING IN THE DANCE. TOMB 78

and was accompanied by more alluring gestures (figs. 3, 5). But there is no sign that things were carried to excess here, at any rate in later times. Once or twice, as in the tomb of Kenamun, tumblers are called in to amuse the guests or the unseen host, for all the social scenes exhibited to us are apt to be sobered by the remembrance that the host has passed away and that all this is "as when he was on earth" (figs. 4, 7). Perhaps on other occasions things grew more boisterous. Jests would not always be refined when a monkey was made a

member of the troupe (in Tomb No. 11 and at Sheikh Saïd). The animal here seems to take the place of the little apprentice (fig. 6) to whose youth a little more abandon and exaggeration of pose were allowed than to her more genteel and disciplined elders. Otherwise the shuffling or gliding motion,

accompanied by studied poses and not often going beyond a somewhat prancing step, was reserved for these banquets as setting a tone which it was desirable to maintain at such entertainments. But on occasions of religious and funerary ceremonial it was different. With a religion embracing solemn moods and lofty conceptions, like that of Israel, there is place for the dance only when simple joy induced by earthly bounty or national prosperity supplants all other emotions, and it may be that Michael, daughter of the gloomy

Saul, rebuked David with some right, not that he danced before the ark, but that he danced "with all his might." Cruder religions regard it as a merit to reach a physical rhapsody, a throbbing emotion, which, as it is with difficulty excited in the crowd by the event or ceremonial alone, must be induced by the sight of rapid and violent physical action and the sound of strong, monotonous rhythm, as the modern

entertainment or as a simple-minded provision of laughter for the god or ghost. As with the fool in tragedy or the devil in mystery plays, it may be this, but it is more. It is the means of providing the proper quantity of emotion in the duller onlooker; quality of feeling is roused in other ways in those who can rise to that level.

We must remember too that Hathor,

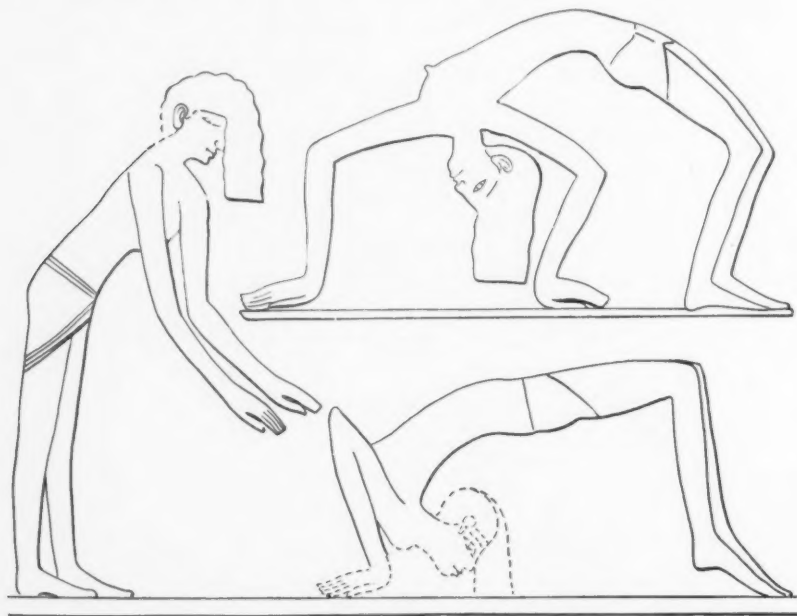


FIG. 4. WOMEN ACROBATS. TOMB 53

Arab loves to work himself into delirium by the reiterated jerks and outcries of the religious exercises of the *zikr*. For this reason, perhaps, it was on solemn occasions in Egypt that the wildest physical displays were given that professional skill could provide. We moderns satisfy the need by engaging in sports or watching them. To duller men the emotion called up by strong pulsation and whirling motion added to processional rites is conceived as a proper response to the superhuman, and is repaid by an extraordinary pleasure, so that amusement and worship are confusedly mingled. If the acrobat is given a place in religious ceremony, it must not be regarded as mere

perhaps mainly by historical accident, is at once the goddess of jollity and love and the queen of the necropolis. Whether this anomaly has a unifying root, and Hathor can be regarded as the inspirer of strong emotions, need not be decided. The attachment to the service of the goddess of professional troupes of singers, dancers, and gymnasts, who would naturally reflect both her aspects in song and dance, would certainly tend to adulterate the expression of religious emotions with the more easy intoxication of love or drink. The bands of gaily dressed ballerinas and male dancers who follow the statue of Kenamun all belong to such official troupes, and the short

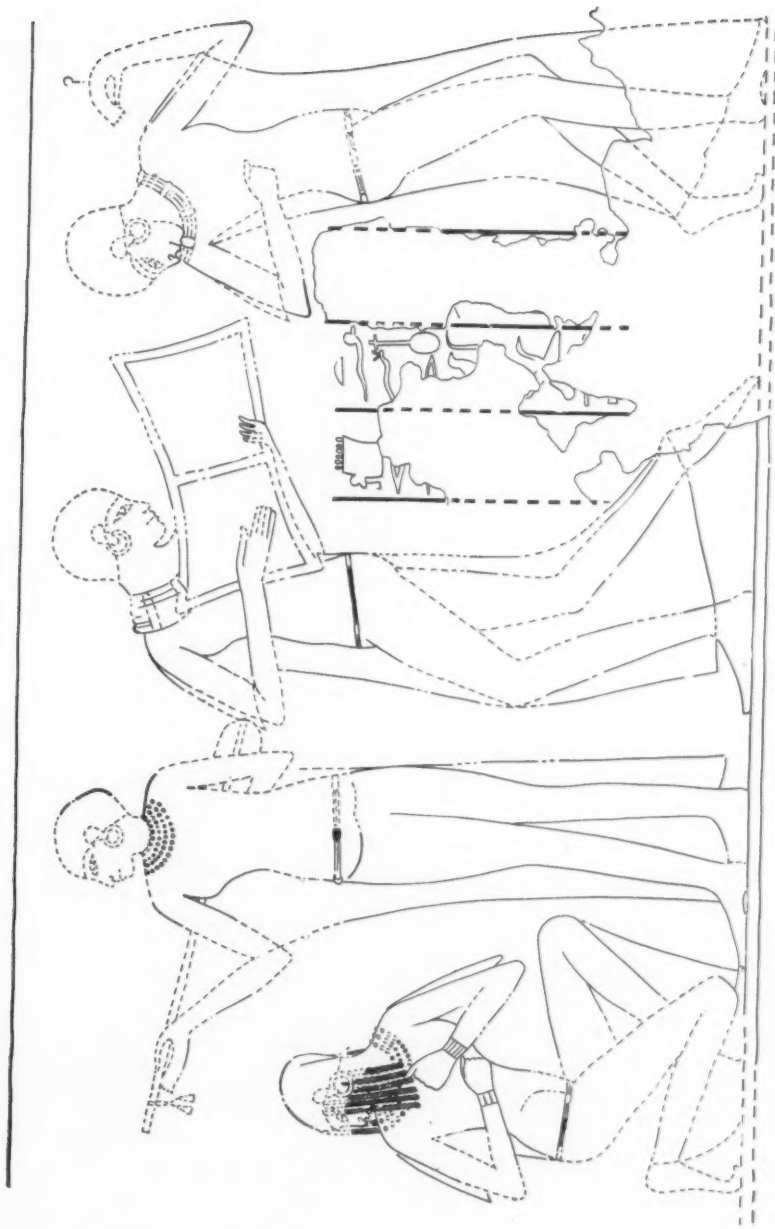


FIG. 5. POSTURING IN THE DANCE. TOMB 95

skirts of some of them suggest that their exhibitions were not confined to the most restrained measures (fig. 8).

What has not been sufficiently recognized is that the acrobats too were professional artists attached to the temples. As we have seen, they were included among the dancers, and perhaps regarded as having reached the top of the profession, graceful dancers being many but female acrobats few. They



FIG. 6. A YOUNG APPRENTICE
TOMB 92

were no doubt set apart for training at an early age, women being chosen because they could be better spared, and because their suppleness, seeming weakness, and incommensurate hair made their performance the stranger and wilder. We are apt to point to the games of ball which the girls play at Beni Hasan as proof that the ancient Egyptians wisely encouraged physical exercises among their maidens as well as their youths, and to regard the women athletes of Knossos who throw their somersaults before the crowd between the horns of wild bulls as a marvelous anachronism. But the picture wears a totally different aspect if these should prove to be performers trained under compulsion to amuse and excite the public. We may be witnessing at Knossos

only the cruel pact by which so many Greek maidens were thrown yearly to the Minotaur. At Beni Hasan, too, the games of the boys and girls are set right in the midst of other trades and arts, and in close connection with the making and transport of funerary statues; in one case, also, with the chastisement of female serfs. These too, then, are in a training which will lead them from games and jugglery and simple physical exercises up to feats of considerable strength and agility, such as somersaults, or Catherine-wheels executed by two girls tightly linked together to make a four-legged performer.

The gymnastic dance can be noted in early times, though the restrained dance is much more common. At Deir el Gabrawi exuberant dances are performed by young men and women in the wake of the funeral convoy, and here again movements so exaggerated as to need long training in suppleness are carried out only by girls, no doubt professionals (fig. 9). An early tomb of the New Kingdom at Thebes shows an animated religious dance in which many female performers take part, generally in pairs and probably with a dramatic motive (fig. 10). The same feature is seen in the Old Kingdom tomb of Merruka's wife at Sak-kara.

The presence of tumbling women can be carried back to the same age, since fragments from the temple of Sahure show women going through some feat of balance or agility while seated on the ground. In the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes such tumblers are seen at a harvest festival, doubtless as devotees of Hathor, while on the same wall and in the same service sister performers are more quietly going through a dance of a dramatic kind at the head of a funeral procession. Female gymnasts reappear twice under the New Kingdom at banquets (figs. 4, 7), and also in a procession of the sacred bark of Amon (fig. 13). They are seen, finally, in a tomb of the close of the Ramesside era, performing under a palace window from which the women of the queen accompany them with music (fig. 14).

Some of the illustrations need a word of explanation.

Figure 3 (From Tomb No. 78). This group

shows the simple dance set off by the exceptional posturing of one of its members. The chant is at once an invocation and a drinking song. "May Amon, when thou beholdest him, make thee to dwell among (his) people, a man of favor in the land of the living. Mut comes with her fair face of love to give food from above to her who bears her emblems and desires to drink deeply from the cup of gold, when it is

Figure 5. This much-injured group comes from a scene of social entertainment in honor of the dead. The gestures of the female dancers, both by limbs and head, are much more expressive and affected than is customary, and it is evident that great importance is attached to graceful action and coquettish pose. The women seem to be calling attention to this by looking, as if in admiration, at their own forms and

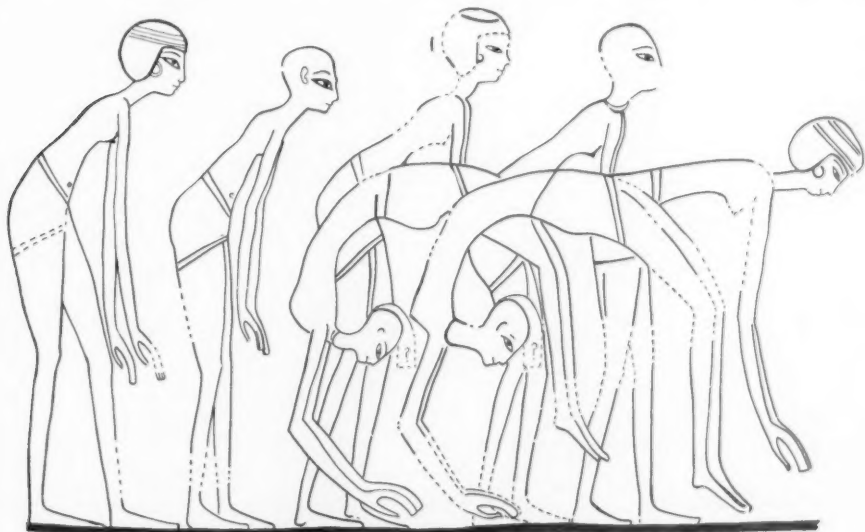


FIG. 7. WOMEN ACROBATS. HAY MSS.

fashioned with *mimet* plants (?) of lapis lazuli and filled with liquid."

Figure 4. The occasion is a social gathering in honor of the father of the owner of the tomb (No. 53). There is dancing and music of the ordinary kind before the guests. Three women bring sistrums and *menats*, and behind them come these three acrobats. One girl executes a Catherine-wheel sidewise. Below this one sees another half-way through a forward somersault, which the space at the disposal of the draughtsman makes to appear more difficult than it really is. On the left a third girl stands with her hands before her in the act of launching herself in a similar turn. Her hair, falling over her eyes, indicates the rapid gyration to the right which the feat will involve.

movements. On the right is one who seems gliding through a quiet measure, with posturing of the head and hands. The next trails her foot, as if to invite notice of its lissomeness, and accompanies her paces on a square tambourine. A companion aids her by thrumming a lute. The draughtsman has here exhibited his dexterity, as he or another did in the tomb of Rekhmire, by drawing this figure with her back toward us, most of the lute being concealed by her body. But he has not achieved the success of the earlier attempt, and there seems no justification for this deviation from normal drawing. To judge by the figure on the left, the stress laid on graceful and alluring attitudes by this troupe led it to include pure pose in its entertainment.

Figure 7 was copied by Hay from a tomb

now lost.² It shows seven women tumblers, two of whom are half-way through the forward somersault and the other five in the first movements of the turn, as if it were a cinematograph record of a single person performing the act. The occasion may be a ceremonial one, since two women with *sis-trums* follow the troupe.

the fact that their long locks flow out over their heads (copied from an upper register which seems to have exactly duplicated this one) shows that they are preparing for the sharp forward fling of the arms which is needed to set up the rotary movement of which the other three girls show the middle position, when the toes have touched



FIG. 8. PROFESSIONAL DANCERS. TOMB 93

Figure 13 is from the north wall of the upper court of the temple of Deir el Bahri. Three rows of performers go forth to meet the bark of Amon. In the middle one, three girls turn forward handsprings to the right, their hair falling over their faces as they lower their heads and fling their heels rapidly over them. Two others await their turn, kneeling with their hands thrown back as far as possible behind the ears. It looks like an attitude of mourning, but

²Hay MSS. 29852, following 244.245.

ground and the performer has only to bring herself erect with what is left of the impetus. The women have done their part. The men, strange to say, are much more restrained in their acts. Two bring libation vases. Four others who clap their hands to a song in praise of Amon have the note appended, "The choristers say, 'Accept an offering, O lord of the gods, and bless thy beloved son, King Horus Khamwese.'" Four men, each with lifted fore foot, indicating that they are lightly treading a



FIG. 9. A RELIGIOUS DANCE

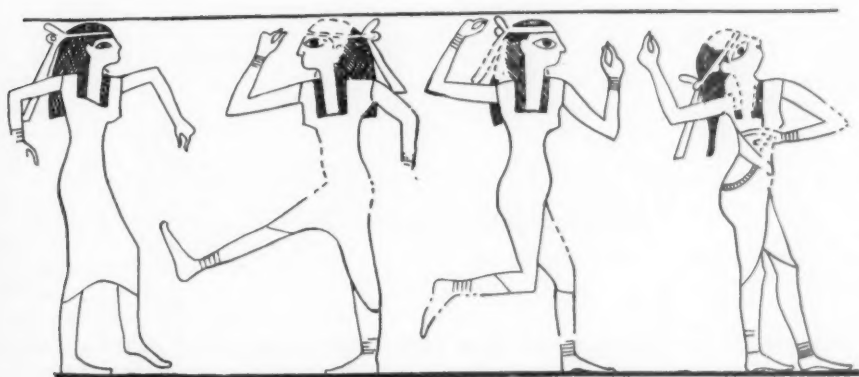


FIG. 10. A NEW KINGDOM DANCE

measure, are "dancers of Amon." All this points to the women as being regularly attached to the temple and trained, like a singer or dancer, for their particular rôle.

Another representation of female tumblers in a religious procession occurs in the "colonnade" of the temple of Luxor

variably the distinguishing mark of the female acrobat. Now we meet occasionally with one or two figures like this among the mourning women before the bier or at funeral rites (e.g., in Tombs 81, 82, 87). In the tomb of Rekhmire they appear among the female officiants at the cere-

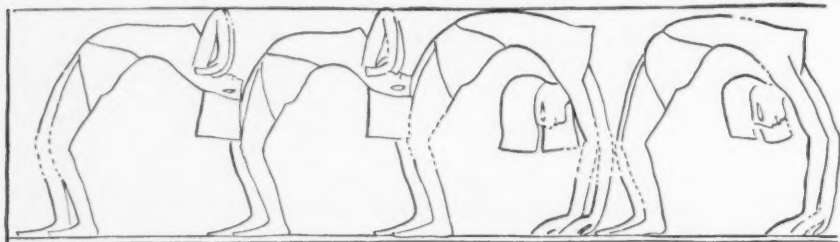


FIG. 11. WOMEN ACROBATS. LUXOR TEMPLE

(fig. 11).³ This and two more similar rows above and below it are followed on the right by four women with sistrums and bearers of sacrificial offerings. There are thus twelve performers, of which six are so far through the forward somersault that hands and feet are both on the ground and six have almost returned to the vertical position from which they started.

Figure 14, from Tomb 65, again shows women acrobats. In the upper register a girl turns a forward somersault to the left. Behind her a companion kneels, ready to go through the same performance. Below this are three more young women half-way through the same feat, except that in this case, if their hands are really meant not to reach the ground, it is the more sensational one of a somersault in the air, carried through by mere impetus without the aid of a push-off by the hands.

It will be noticed that the thick mass of hair hanging over the face is almost in-

³Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art Égyptien*, pl. 45.

monial perambulation of the funerary statue (fig. 12). One of them who cowers on the ground and pours dust upon her hair presents the typical attitude of mourning, and the pair who stand with folded arms and hair falling over their bowed

faces, though they look the part to perfection, are probably not meant to represent grief, but the respectful attendance of the tumblers in their official capacity and as a matter of course.⁴ If this be a proper interpretation of the figures, it could not better emphasize the primitive emotions which still governed the most solemn Egyptian rites than that the acrobat and the dancer formed a regular part of the trained staff of the temple, and were called into requisition at every "proper burial" to

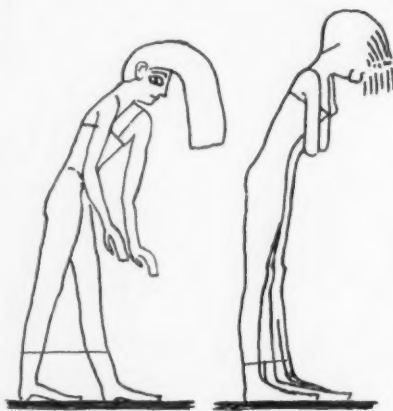


FIG. 12. TUMBLERS AT A FUNERAL
TOMBS 82 AND 100

⁴The apparent severance of the forearms reminds one strongly of the funerary figurines of women whose limbs terminate at elbow and knee, perhaps from fear of their being taken possession of by spirits and used for evil. Here it must surely be only an awkward side-view of folded arms. It is against my belief that the women are tumblers, that they wear ordinary dress.

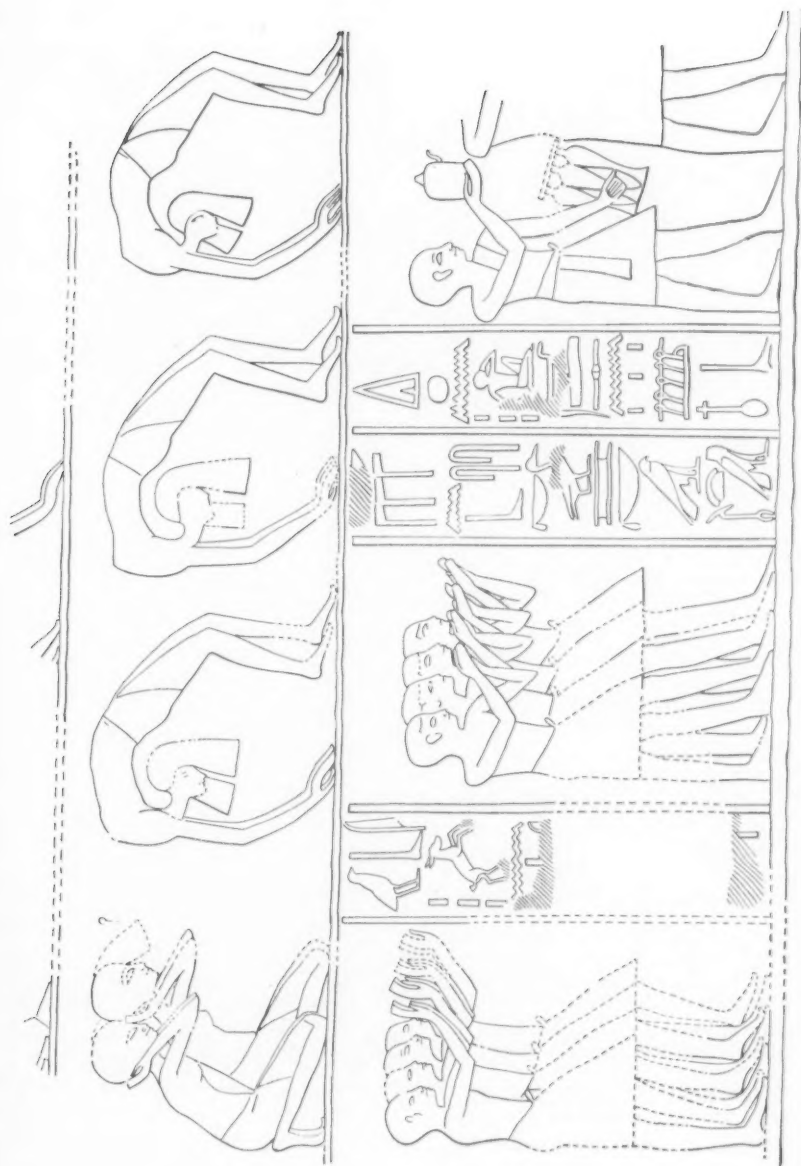


FIG. 13. ACROBATS AT A RELIGIOUS RITE

stir the dull temper of the people to such unwonted awe and admiration as were there fitting. "The doors of heaven open and the god comes forth!" cry the girls and men as they dance, and it seems to have given the common person for once some inkling of the

the story of the Juggler of Notre Dame who, having become a monk and finding no other gift by which to do honor to Our Lady, was found turning his best somersaults before her altar, and was saved from expulsion for sacrilege only by the figure

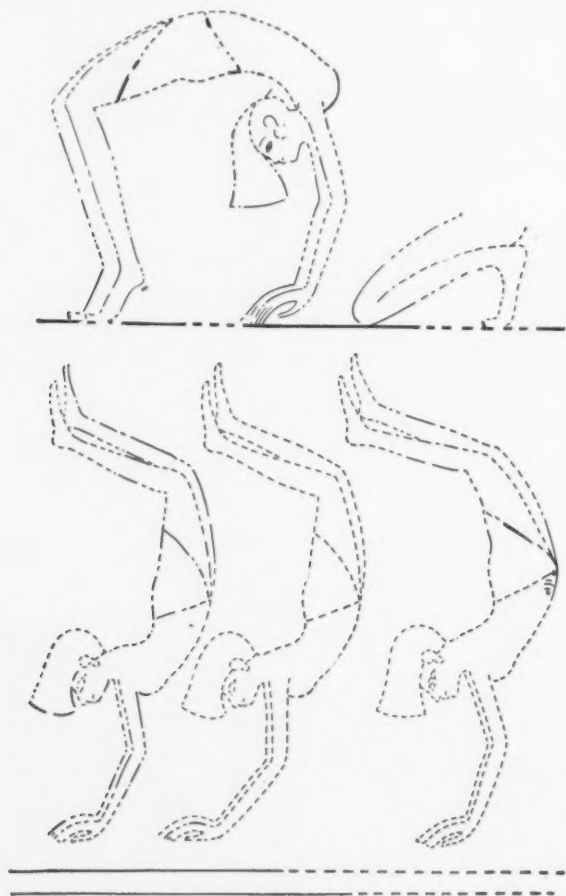


FIG. 14. WOMEN ACROBATS. TOMB 65

supernatural. This is perhaps an exaggeration. The dance often had dramatic content and illustrated to the comprehension of all some mythological truth. But it is hard to see how the acrobat could make any higher contribution than a quickening of the pulse, except in so far as extraordinary physical perfection and powers might create an impression that life was insuppressible and under the aegis of the gods. We remember

of the goddess stepping down and laying her hand on the head of her simple worshiper. What we can accept and see the beauty of in Christian legend we ought not to boggle at in the acts of a more child-like age. But we need not regret to notice the cult of Hathor, goddess of merriment and the grave, ceding ground to that of Isis, the exponent of family loyalty and self-sacrifice.

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FIG. 15. THE GOD SETEKH

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The Temple of Hibis in the Great Oasis takes us into quite another atmosphere. There is no laughter here; indeed nothing earthly. All is supernatural; in the sanctuary even hyper-supernatural. Hope centers on the god of generation who can transfer life to a very distant and strange Beyond. One exceptional emblem of divine help may be presented in the figure of the god Setekh spearing the dragon (fig. 15). The strangest feature about it is that Setekh, who is generally the enemy of Horus and who, as god of evil, assumes the form of a serpent, here takes the guise of Horus and plays in his place the rôle of the brave champion. An emblematic lion runs by the side of the warrior god, as by Ramses in his battles. The god is thus typical of the tendency of the times to syncretism and to the rehabilitation of Set, who as a prince of devils casts out devils. This rare presentation seems, by the evidence of rock graffiti in lonely valleys, to have gained more favor with the men of that time and locality than any other.

The season has brought Robert Mond's decision to retire from work in the Necropolis after long and zealous participation

in its affairs. During the years when he installed Mr. Mackay there with a mission to repair, photograph, and generally keep watch and ward over the tombs of Thebes, he rendered exceptionally valuable aid to archaeology. To this timely aid is largely due the cessation by the villagers from contemptuous and regular plundering of the wells and walls of tombs, and the neat and cared-for appearance of the monuments. I regret to find that in acknowledging once and again the direct and indirect help received from Mr. Mackay I seem not to have made it sufficiently clear that he was always and entirely in the service of Mr. Mond. The same valuable tombs naturally attracted us both, and when I had preserved the scenes in copies, Mr. Mackay would often consolidate the walls, embodying loose fragments in them, and otherwise making the monument secure. Apart from the personal kindness I have received from Mr. Mond, which often indirectly helped our Expedition, it is pleasant to look back on the cordiality with which the two enterprises have worked together for good.

N. DE GARIS DAVIES.

LIST OF PRIVATE TOMBS AT THEBES RECORDED BY THE MUSEUM'S EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION DURING THE YEARS 1907-1927

THE Museum's Egyptian Expedition was organized in the autumn of 1906 and during the succeeding winter carried out its first season of excavation. In the following winter of 1907-08 the Graphic Branch of the Expedition was established under the direction of Norman de Garis Davies, with the purpose of building up for the Museum a comprehensive series of records, through tracings and copies in color, of those surpassing representations of Egyptian customs and beliefs pictured on the walls of their tombs. These would not only provide the Museum with invaluable data for study and publication but would constitute a lasting record against possible damage or destruction of the original scenes.

The most pressing need with respect to such a record unquestionably lay in the private tombs at Thebes, because of the particularly fragile and destructible nature of their decorations. There in the majority of cases the roughly rock-hewn walls were faced up with a "plaster" of Nile mud, upon which the scenes were then painted. Time and the hand of man had already created sad havoc in many of the tombs, much of it within the last century—a fact only too evident when reference was made to records made within that period. Accordingly, our Graphic Branch began its work there and the task has since been carried on continuously each season except for a short interruption in the later part of the war.

Several years after the work was begun—in 1914—its scope was materially broadened through the good fortune of the Expedition in securing as a member of its staff Harry Burton, who has since been engaged in making a photographic record of these tombs, as well as other Theban monuments.

As a matter of information and interest, we have now compiled the following list of tombs covered by the work since its inception twenty years ago.

A. M. LYTHGOE.

Tomb 1, Sen-nūzem.

Color: Inner room, Cat and serpent, Fields of the blest.

Tomb 8, Kha'.

Color: South wall, Border and ceiling patterns.

Tomb 13, Shu-roy.

Photography: South wall, Funeral procession.

Tomb 15, Tetiky.

Color: Ceiling pattern.

Tomb 16, Pe-nehāsy.

Photography: Complete.

Color: North wall, Vase borne in procession from temple; West Wall, Amen-hotep I enthroned.

Tomb 19, Amen-mosē.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 20, Mentu-ḥir-khopsh-ef.

Color: Fragments of stela, stag's head (fragments of painted relief in Cairo Museum).

Tomb 36, Iby.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 38, Zeser-ka-Ra'-sonbe.

Photography: Complete.

Color: South wall, Musicians, Lady with two serving maids.

Tomb 39, Puy-em-Rē'.

Photography: Complete.

Color: As published in The Tomb of Puyemrē at Thebes; also a fragment with palm trees in Cairo Museum.

Tomb 40, Huy.

Photography: Complete.

Color: West wall, Nubian tribute scene complete; East wall, Boats.

- Tomb 45, Thut-em-hāb.
Photography: Complete.
Color: Complete excepting the north wall and fragmentary scenes.
- Tomb 48, Su-rer.
Photography: Complete.
Color: West wall, Amen-hotep III in kiosk, Relief panel on throne; Ceiling patterns.
- Tomb 49, Nefer-hōtep.
Photography: Relief at entrance; Statues.
- Tomb 50, Nefer-hōtep.
Color: Ceiling patterns.
- Tomb 51, User-hēt.
Photography: Complete.
Color: Complete.
- Tomb 52, Nakhte.
Photography: Complete.
Color: Complete.
- Tomb 54, Huy.
Color: East wall, Worship of Amen-hotep I and A'h-mosē-nefret-īry.
- Tomb 55, Ra'-mosē.
Photography: Complete.
Color: The funeral procession.
- Tomb 56, User-hēt.
Color: Outer room, Hair dressing of recruits, Fan bearers; Inner room, Desert hunting scene, Two men leading a horse, Coptic graffiti of animals.
- Tomb 57, Kha'-em-hēt.
Photography: Complete.
- Tomb 60, Intef-ōker.
Photography: Complete.
Color: South wall, Kiosk of Sesostri I, Dancing girls.
- Tomb 69, Menena.
Photography: Complete.
Color: Outer room, Harvest scenes, Daughters of Menena, Four ladies bearing fruit and flowers, Lady before offering table; Inner room, Ship, Fishing and fowling scene, Drama of resurrection.
- Tomb 71, Sen-Mūt.
Photography: Cretan offering bearers.
Color: Cretan offering bearers.
- Tomb 73, Amen-hotep.
Color: Fisherman and fish.
- Tomb 75, Amen-hotep-si-se.
Color: Thut-mosē IV enthroned, Temple paraphernalia.
- Tomb 80, Thut-nofre.
Color: Inner room, north wall, House.
- Tomb 81, Aneny.
Color: West side of second pillar, House.
- Tomb 82, Amen-em-hēt.
Color: Goddess of the West and funeral ceremonies, Guests at a meal and bulls fighting, Amen-em-hēt and his wife at the feast.
- Tomb 85, Amen-em-hāb.
Color: Huntsman encountering hyena.
- Tomb 86, Men-kheper-Ra'-sonbe.
Color: Two foreigners bearing gifts.
- Tomb 87, Min-nakhte.
Color: Garden with pool.
- Tomb 89, Amen-mosē.
Photography: Sketch of Thut-mosē III in kiosk.
- Tomb 90, Neb-Amūn.
Color: Vintage, rationing of soldiers, branding.
- Tomb 93, Ken-Amūn.
Photography: Complete.
Color: As published in forthcoming volume: The Tomb of Ken-Amūn.
- Tomb 100, Rekh-mi-Rē'.
Photography: In course of completion.
Color: Outer hall, west wall, south side, Negroes with animals, Tribute, Dogs, Two Syrians; Men of Kefti, Tribute of the Keftiu; Passage, south wall, Tribute from Nubia, Grapes, baskets, wine jars, Honey taken from hives, Brickmaking, Water taken from a pool; North wall, Guests at the feast.
- Tomb 101.
Color: Offering bearer leading a bull.
- Tomb 108, Neb-seny.
Color: Banqueting scene.
- Tomb 130, Ma'y.
Color: Cat under chair.
- Tomb 131, Amen-usre.
Photography: Façade, Head of figure on door jamb; East wall, Figure of vizier, Thut-mosē III enthroned.
Color: Foreigners.
- Tomb 139, Pe-īry.
Photography: Complete.
Color: Vessel towing funeral barge.
- Tomb 161, Nakhte.
Color: Vase and stand.

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Tomb 162, Ken-Amūn.

Color: Ken-Amūn and his wife, Two offering bearers, Ceiling patterns.

Tomb 172, Mentu-i-wy.

Color: Outer room, east wall, Jars.

Tomb 179, Neb-Amūn.

Color: East wall, Wine and beer jars; West wall, Man with tablet before false door, Dog under chair, Ducks, cakes, vegetables.

Tomb 181, Neb-Amūn and Ipuky.

Photography: Complete.

Color: Complete.

Tomb 188, Pe-ren-nūfer.

Photography: Harvest scenes, Akh-en-Aten enthroned.

Tomb 192, Kharū-ef.

Photography: Reliefs over doorway.

Tomb 207, Har-em-hāb.

Color: Throne of Osiris, Funeral bark, Ceiling pattern.

Tomb 217, Apuy.

Photography: Complete.

Color: Complete.

Tomb 222, Hek-ma'-Ra'-nakhte.

Color: Ceiling pattern.

Tomb 226.

Color: Amen-hotep III and Mut-em-ūya in kiosk, Bull from procession of offering bearers.

Tomb 240, Meru.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 256, Neb-en-kēmet.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 257, Nefer-hōtep and Ma'hu.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 261.

Color: Receipt of the vintage, Rope-making.

Tomb 262.

Color: Copies of loose fragments.

Tomb 276, Amen-em-Opet.

Color: Inner room, north wall, Foxes, Hyena; South wall, Fire symbol, Stool.

Tomb 277, Amen-em-ōnet.

Color: Amen-em-ōnet offering before Mentu-hotep and his queen.

Tomb 278, Amen-em-hāb.

Color: Three boats.

Tomb 279, Pebes.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 308, Kemsiet.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 311, Akhtoy.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 312, Nesu-pe-ka-shuty

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 319, Nofru.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 347, Thoy.

Photography: Three statues.

Color: Three statues; Ceiling patterns and borders.

Tomb of Sen-Mūt (newly discovered).

Photography: Complete.

In addition to the recording of the private tombs listed above the following work has been done in the royal tombs at Thebes:

VALLEY OF THE KINGS.

Tomb 16, Ramesses I.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 17, Sety I.

Photography: Complete.

Tomb 19, Mentu-hir-khopsh-ef.

Photography: Complete.

VALLEY OF THE QUEENS.

Tomb 66, Nefret-iry.

Photography: Complete.

Color: First chamber, east wall, The queen playing draughts, The queen kneeling in adoration; South wall, Hawk, crane, and lion; West wall, Isis leading the queen.

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C L P